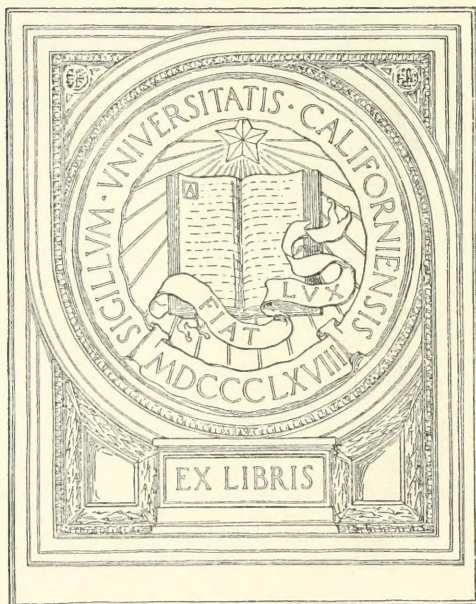





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# STUDIES IN ENNIUS

## A Dissertation

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE IN PARTIAL  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

ELEANOR SHIPLEY DUCKETT

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BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA

JANUARY, 1915

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE PLACE OF ENNIUS AMONG THE WRITERS OF HISTORY.

The early stages of the development of Roman historiography have been for the last fifty years the subject of intermittent discussion, and no small debatable land must be crossed before we can try to estimate the position due to Ennius among writers of history. The study of every historian, especially of the earlier historian, necessarily rests upon a knowledge of the conditions attending his work. For him experience has not determined the method which he shall follow in setting forth his tale, the manner of recounting fact or speech, the style appropriate to his own particular attempt. Every writer represents his own stage in the development of historiography; and no one of these writers can rightly be understood alone. If we would understand the *Annals* of Ennius, we must preface our study of his contribution to Roman historiography with some definite theory as to the tradition which lay behind him.

We are confronted with a problem at the beginning of this tradition. Were the legends of Rome, as her earliest annalists related them, the genuine tradition of their native land? Or did the Roman annalists draw them from the *praetextae* of the early Roman dramatists, either as imported by these dramatists from Greek literature, or as invented by their own imagination? The answer to these questions involves the examination of the history of the early Roman legends told in the *praetextae*. It involves, moreover, a careful scrutiny of the circumstances amid which the earliest Roman annalists worked, the aims of their work, and the manner in which, so far as we can tell, they endeavoured to fulfil it. Only when we have thus arrived at some conclusion with regard to these earliest Roman

writers can we attempt to judge the merit, as writer of history, of the man who followed them. This man, Ennius, also wrote annals, but in poetry. The change of medium from prose to verse introduces a fresh problem: What conception of history had Ennius the poet? Here we must weigh evidence both internal, drawn from the Ennian *Annals*, and external, drawn from the *testimonia* of later men to Ennius as historian.

Furthermore, as epic poet Ennius certainly followed Homer, and much of his work recalls Homeric poetry at first sight. Did he, then, confine his imitation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to merely external colouring, introducing Homeric lines and phrases into a narrative historically true that he might vivify his description and render it more attractive? Or did he as poet feel himself free to embroider the annals of Rome with fictitious legend and incident, created by him after the fashion of Homeric tales, and still traceable in Homeric echoes in the Roman annals of the first century B. C.?

We reach the final stage when we attempt to review the influence exercised by Ennius over these later Roman annals, and to appreciate in some manner the extent and the limitations of that control.

It is to the study of these problems that the pages of this first chapter are given.

#### A. ROMAN LEGENDS AND PRAETEXTAE.

To Ranke first occurred a theory, based on dramatic elements in the narrative, that the details of the legend of Romulus and Remus spring from some play, possibly the *Alimonia Remi et Romuli* of Naevius; and Naevius in turn was said to have found his model in the *Tyro* of Sophocles. The suggestion was infectious, and quickly attacked other parts of this body of

folk-lore, till at the present time we are told that the influence of the Greek and Roman dramatic poets on the Roman annalists has created the main part of their legendary tales.<sup>1</sup>

In approaching this problem we note two points. On the one hand, a line must be drawn between the work of the earliest Roman annalists and that of the Roman annalists who wrote in a later time, when records were being elaborated into the more detailed narratives of historians. On the other hand, the existence of only seven early *praetextae* is proved; others, very possibly, were written, but no certainty can be based upon uncertain and imaginary deductions. If, then, the influence of drama on the annals of Rome is to find proof, these seven *praetextae* must provide it. We shall therefore examine them and their subject-matter in the order of their appearance.

1. **The Legend of Romulus and Remus.** This was told in very similar manner by both Diocles of Peparethus and Fabius Pictor.<sup>2</sup> The kingship of Alba Longa fell to the brothers Numitor and Amulius, but was seized for sole possession by Amulius, who, in fear lest grandsons born to Numitor should at length dethrone him, forced Ilia, daughter of Numitor, to enter the virgin service of Vesta. When, shortly after, she was found with child, Amulius was minded to slay her, yet spared her life at his daughter's prayer. In close imprisonment she

<sup>1</sup> Ranke (*Monatsber. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1849, III, pp. 238 ff.) was followed by Ribbeck, with some caution, in *Röm. Tragödie*, 1875, p. 63, and in *Röm. Dichtung*, 1887, p. 21. In 1882 Bauer (*Sitzungsber. d. wiener Akad. C*, p. 539 ff.) suggested that Fabius, as a student of Greek, drew much of the story from the legend of Cyrus in Herodotus I, 107 ff. The theory that the *Tyros* of Sophocles supplied the details came from Trieber (*Die Romulussage*, *Rhein. Mus.* XLIII (1888), p. 569 ff.), though he held Diocles rather than Naevius as author of the *Romulus* play. Later writers of this school are Pais, *Storia di Roma* I, 1898, p. 24, and *Storia Critica di Roma* I, 1913, pp. 292 f.; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* I, 1907, p. 215; Soltau, *Die Anfänge der röm. Geschichtsschreibung*, 1909, pp. 21 ff., and *Klio* X (1910), pp. 129 ff.; Costanzi, Diocle di Pepareto, *Studi Storici per l'antichità class.* III, 1910, p. 77; H. P. Wright, *The Recovery of a Lost Roman Tragedy* (*Accius, "Tullia"*), *A Study in Honour of Bernadotte Perrin*, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> I follow Schwartz (*Pauly-Wissowa. s. v. Diokles*, col. 797) in assuming that Plutarch (*Romulus* 3 ff.) used Diocles, while Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* I, 79 ff.) followed Fabius.

bore two sons of wondrous stature and beauty, to the terror of Amulius, who ordered that they be straightway cast into the Tiber. But his servant feared to come too near the river, for it was time of flood, and the current ran swiftly. He therefore left the ark which held them on the bank; the waters as they rose lifted it, and bore it to other landing lower down. Here the babes were suckled by a wolf; hence Ilia was believed to say truly that she bare her sons to Mars, for the wolf was sacred to this god. They were then received by one named Faustulus, a herdsman of King Amulius, dwelling hard by, under whose care they grew to youth and lived freely in the woods; their high birth was unknown to all save Faustulus, but gave token in their noble form and character.

Strife arose between the neatherds of Amulius and Numitor; and Remus was taken captive in his brother's absence to answer before Amulius for the misdeeds of his band. Numitor, as the injured one, received him for punishment from the king, but, struck by his high bearing, asked him of his birth and heard the tale of his strange nurture. Faustulus, meantime, caught on his way to tell the truth to Numitor in fear for Remus, was carried before Amulius, and forced to declare that the sons of Ilia yet lived. Numitor and Remus came to the knowledge of their kinship; in union with Romulus and the citizens of Alba they won the city and slew the tyrant Amulius.

The similarity in the two versions (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* I, 79 ff.; Plutarch, *Romulus* 3 ff.) has suggested various theories. Many have inferred that Fabius drew upon Diocles for material, from the testimony of Plutarch, *Rom.* 3, τοῦ δὲ πίστιν ἔχοντος λόγον μάλιστα καὶ πλείστον μάρτυρας τὰ μὲν κυριώτατα πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξέδωκε Διοκλῆς Πεπαρήθιος, ᾧ καὶ Φάβιος Πίκτωρ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπηκολούθηκε. Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἑτεραι διαφοραί· τύπῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτός ἐστι, and 8, ὅν τὰ πλείστα καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου λέγοντος καὶ τοῦ Πεπαρηθίου Διοκλέους, ὅς δοκεῖ πρῶτος ἐκδοῦναι Ῥώμης κτίσιν.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Of later writings on this side, see especially that by Karl v. Holzinger, Diokles von Peparethos als Quelle des Fabius Pictor, *Wiener Studien* XXXIV (1912), pp. 175 ff.

Against this belief, Hermann Peter pointed out in 1905 that the  $\phi$  of the passage in Plutarch's third chapter may refer to  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  instead of to  $\Delta\iota\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$ ; this view is supported by the fact that  $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in the next sentence certainly refers to  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , and that the intervention between  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  of a relative referring to some other antecedent is distinctly awkward.<sup>4</sup> But even before this time a number of scholars preferred to hold that Plutarch was here in error rather than that the national legend of Rome was composed by a Greek writer of whom hardly anything was known, and who was mentioned as an authority by no other annalist of the tradition. The dependence of Fabius upon Diocles in this matter, therefore, is improbable and is supported by no proof.

Others have accepted the opposite theory, that Diocles depended upon Fabius for his tale. Schwartz has traced the version given by Dionysius to Fabius as source, because of his clear description of two details of Roman law, the *noxae datio* of Remus to Numitor, and the *custodia libera* to be held by Amulius over his brother; the narrative of Plutarch, which does not describe these points, he assigns to Diocles.<sup>5</sup>

But his further conclusion that Diocles was therefore copying Fabius and omitted technical matter which, as a Greek, he did not understand, is by no means proved.<sup>6</sup> Fabius was writing for Greek readers also; there was nothing in his account which any Greek in general, and Diocles in especial, as one acquainted with Roman life, could not easily understand. Had he been merely copying Fabius, he would naturally have reproduced his model without understanding that he was here

<sup>4</sup> *Bursian's Jahresber. für Alt.* CXXVI (1905), p. 200; *Berl. phil. Woch.* XXVI (1906), col. 241. The support given by  $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  is due to Holzinger (*op. cit.*, pp. 180 f.), who does not accept it, but prefers rather to force the  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  before  $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  in the same passage into a reference to Plutarch himself than to give it the simple meaning of "also" as referring to Fabius Pictor. See also Peter, *Hist. Rom. Reliquiae* I<sup>2</sup>, 1914, pp. lxxxii f. This book unfortunately reached me too late for general use, but I have accepted its text of the fragments.

<sup>5</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, 1903, s. v. *Diokles*, coll. 797 f.

<sup>6</sup> Holzinger, pp. 176 f.

dealing with legal terms. The difference in the two versions is distinct.<sup>7</sup> According to Dionysius, the captive Remus was first taken before Amulius, who of his free will delivered him to Numitor (*Ant. Rom.* I, 81): τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τὸν Νεμέτορα ποιεῖ (sc. Ἀμόλιος) κύριον, εἰπὼν ὡς τῷ δράσαντι δεινὰ τὸ ἀντιπαθεῖν οὐ πρὸς ἄλλον τινὸς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πεπονθότος ὀφείλεται. Plutarch, on the other hand, related (*Rom.* 7) that Numitor first received Remus, but, because he feared his brother, dared not punish him by his own hand, but went to Amulius and prayed for reparation. Through this request and the sympathetic indignation of the citizens of Alba, Amulius was moved to hand over his prisoner to Numitor to use as he would.

The detail of the *custodia libera* is introduced in Dionysius' version thus (*Ant. Rom.* I, 83): Amulius sent servants with Faustulus to capture the twins, and another servant to fetch Numitor, whom he intended to guard in this informal manner: ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος αὐτίκα γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο καλέσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμω ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν εὖ θῇται τὰ παρόντα· καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλο δῆ τι ἐκάλει. Plutarch does not mention it.

Finally, our very meagre knowledge of Diocles rather supports than refutes Plutarch in placing him earlier than Fabius. From the evidence given by Strabo and by Athenaeus it is possible to date the birth of Diocles as early as 280 B. C., and his work on Rome might, in this case, have been written at about 250 B. C.<sup>8</sup> The latest date known of Fabius' life is 216 B. C.; but his *Annals* probably included the time succeeding the period of the Second Punic War.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Details of variance were already marked by Trieber, pp. 578 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Holzinger, p. 189, note 1; Strabo XIII, 27: καὶ τὸ Ἰλιον, δ' ὃ νῦν ἐστὶ, κωμόπολις τις ἦν, ὅτε πρῶτον Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπέβησαν καὶ ἐξέβαλον Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἐκ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου. φησὶ γοῦν Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος, μειράκιον ἐπιδημήσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς. Demetrius, then, must have been born about 210 B. C.; from Athenaeus II, 44 e, Διοκλῆ τε τὸν Πιπαρήθιον φησὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος μέχρι τέλους ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πεπωκέναι, we gather that he died after Diocles; and if the greatest possible difference in their ages is imagined, we reach 280 B. C. as the date of Diocles' birth.

<sup>9</sup> Schanz, *Röm. Literaturgeschichte* I<sup>3</sup>, 1907, p. 230.

We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that no proof has shown the dependence either of Fabius upon Diocles or of Diocles upon Fabius, and that these two annalists wrote independently of one another. The more important question remains: Did both, then, draw their versions separately from native tradition or from Naevius?

To this we may answer that the contents of Naevius' play cannot be said to provide for all the story given by Diocles and Fabius. Its name, the *Alimonia Remi et Romuli*, implies that it described their rescue and early fostering rather than the ἀναγνώσεις, the death of Amulius, and the conquest of Alba.<sup>10</sup> If, again, the details of the legend had come from this drama, then the drama would have broken the rule of unity with regard to place and time in a very marked degree. As in the case of the legend of Camillus,<sup>11</sup> so in this, there is too much material for a single *praetexta*, and we have no record of any other on the subject.

Moreover, the versions of Diocles and Fabius differ from that of Naevius in important details.<sup>12</sup> In the prose narratives Ilia is the daughter of Numitor; in the story of Naevius she is the daughter of Aeneas.<sup>13</sup> Here also, in one of the two fragments left, a King Viba of Veii is introduced,<sup>14</sup> of whom neither Dionysius nor Plutarch makes mention.

<sup>10</sup> Holzinger, p. 200.

<sup>11</sup> Münzer, Pauly-Wissowa, 1910, s. v. *Furius Camillus*, col. 327.

<sup>12</sup> Holzinger, p. 200.

<sup>13</sup> Servius on *Aen.* I, 273: Naevius et Ennius Aeneae ex filia nepotem Romulum conditorem urbis tradunt.

<sup>14</sup> Ribbeck, *Sc. Rom. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, 1897, p. 322, Frag. I:

Rêx Veiens regém salutat Vibe Albanum Amúlium

Cómiter seném sapientem. Cóntra redhostis?—Mín salus?

The only other fragment (Ribbeck, p. 322, Frag. II) which conveys any meaning cannot be fitted into the narrative of either Plutarch or Dionysius:

Cedo quí rem vestram públicam tantam ámisistis tám cito?—

Provéniebant oráttores novéi, stulti adulescéntuli.

Ribbeck (*Röm. Trag.*, p. 66) shows that this cannot refer to the Alban State, for the rule of Amulius stands firm; and suggests that Viba, driven from the kingship of Veii, is hoping for aid from him.

In the next place, did Naevius, for his part, draw the material for his play which told of Romulus and Remus from a Greek play, the *Tyro* of Sophocles?

This theory rests on no sure foundation.<sup>15</sup> The motive of the ἀναγνώρισις of grandson by grandfather does not occur in the story of Tyro, as it is given in Apollodorus I, 9, 8 and Diodorus IV, 68. We do not know how the recognition scene of the Greek play was introduced. There is no proof, moreover, that the story of the strange suckling was told by Sophocles. The cruel stepmother of Tyro, Sidero, has no place in the drama of Naevius; and the death of the tyrant Salmoneus, father of Tyro, differs from the death of the tyrant Amulius, uncle of Ilia, in that Salmoneus was slain by the lightning of Zeus for his impiety. Finally, if the *Tyro* were the source of the *praetexta* of Naevius, this *praetexta* would probably have been entitled *Ilia*, and Ilia would naturally have acted the principal part; yet Plutarch is not sure of the name Ilia, and Dionysius does not mention it. Her rôle in their narratives is entirely subordinate, and she takes no part in the different περιπέτειαι and ἀναγνώρισεις of the Roman play.

It seems, therefore, that Diocles and Fabius did not draw their versions from Naevius, and that Naevius did not borrow his plot from the *Tyro* of Sophocles. The alternative, then, follows: that all three drew independently upon a common source, the native tradition of Rome. The similarity in their narratives may reasonably be explained as due to the conservative character of the oral tradition of unsophisticated peoples. In the same manner the history of Iceland was handed down from 870 till 1120 A. D.; and a like care in reproduction is witnessed by the brothers Grimm with regard to German folk-tales.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Holzinger (pp. 197 ff.) has adequately shown the dissimilarity between the *Romulus* and the *Tyro*.

<sup>16</sup> In the preface to the second volume (published 1815) of their collection, they write these words of the peasant woman who supplied many of their tales (p. xxiv): "Wer an leichte Verfälschung der

Two points may here be noted. The dramatic character of this and other Roman legends provides no reason for their rejection as native folk-lore. The folk-stories of other peoples offer material equally fitted for representation in drama; they abound in lively dialogue, in songs, and in graphic descriptions such as might have been given by a spectator of the scene upon the stage. Supernatural occurrences are frequent; and here, too, beast or bird acts the part of man. Absence of myth, again, does not entail absence of legend; legends are usually found among primitive peoples even if they possess no myths. The Romans had none in these earliest days because they were still "on the threshold of religion";<sup>17</sup> they were still trusting to the uncertain system of magic. But myth can only grow when the animistic stage has passed, and gods are conceived in the likeness of men; when some idea is won of the relation of beings human and divine; in other words, when the religious stage is reached. Under the influence of this personal bond arise the stories which gather round the rulers of the world.

If we turn now from the negative to the positive side, we find support for the argument that tradition, and not an invention of Naevius, was the source of the legend of Romulus and Remus in the works of art which existed long before the time of his play, and which presuppose a general knowledge of the different elements of the tale.<sup>18</sup> They are:

1. The coins issued between 338 B. C. and 269 B. C. at Rome and at her branch mint in Capua; these were Roman coins, whether struck in Rome or in Campania, and indicate the grow-

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Ueberlieferung, Nachlässigkeit bei Aufbewahrung und daher an Unmöglichkeit langer Dauer als Regel glaubt, der müsste hören, wie genau sie immer bei derselben Erzählung bleibt und auf ihre Richtigkeit eifrig ist; niemals ändert sie bei einer Wiederholung etwas in der Sache ab und bessert ein Versehen sobald sie es bemerkt, mitten in der Rede gleich selber."

<sup>17</sup> Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 1911, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Holzinger, p. 189.

ing sway of Rome over Italy.<sup>19</sup> They are classed in three series. The First Series (*circa* 338-314 or 312 B. C.) shows the ship's prow, referring to the naval victory at Antium in 338 B. C., and the wolf and twins, with the inscription ROMANO. The Second Series (*circa* 312-290 B. C.) shows the ship's prow, the head of Roma, and the wheel of six spokes, explained "as a symbol of the internal communication which was established between Rome and Capua by the completion of the Appian Way."<sup>20</sup> In the Third Series the silver coins of Capua are entirely Roman, and after 268 B. C. the coinage of silver was transferred in main part to the mint of Rome herself.<sup>21</sup> These coins, then, are emblems of Rome; the ship's prow and the wheel refer, we may think, to her imperial power; the wolf with the twins, to her own history in legend.

2. The bronze group of the wolf and twins, set up, according to Livy X, 23, by the Ogulnii in 296 B. C. This group presupposes a story which told of the strange birth of Romulus and Remus, the care given them by the god their father, their nurture by the wolf, the rescue by the sympathetic Roman, and the discovery of their high descent.<sup>22</sup>

The legend was therefore recognized, long before the time of the earliest *praetexta*, as the explanation of Rome's origin, in symbols which set forth her civic and imperial power both within and without the city. But since a considerable interval must elapse between the rise of a legend and its representation in art, the story dates from a time long before the later years of the fourth century B. C.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> This dual character of the earliest Roman coinage was first explained by Haeblerlin (*Systematik des ältesten römischen Münzwesens*, 1905); he was followed by Hill (*Historical Roman Coins*, 1909, pp. 5 ff.), and by Head (*Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup>, 1911, pp. 32 ff.). Cf. Regling, *Zum älteren römischen und italischen Münzwesen*, *Klio* VI (1906), pp. 489 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Hill, p. 13, based on Haeblerlin, *Systematik d. ält. röm. Münzwesens*.

<sup>21</sup> Head, pp. 33 f.

<sup>22</sup> Holzinger, p. 189; Pais (*Storia di Roma* I, p. 212, and *Storia Critica di Roma* I, p. 293) and De Sanctis (I, p. 213) suggest that the wolf and the woodpecker were totemistic creatures; but cf. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 26 f.

<sup>23</sup> Holzinger, p. 189.

The representation on the Etruscan mirror of Bolsena, dated somewhat later than the Ogulnian group,<sup>24</sup> shows that the tale was well known also in Etruria. Now we know that many Etruscan names are formed from Italic (Latin and Umbrian) praenomina with Etruscan suffixes.<sup>25</sup> It is probable, therefore, that the Etruscans were of mixed race, sprung from inter-marriage between Orientals who invaded and conquered Etruria, and the conquered Italic people. These Italic mothers, as was usual, gave native names to their children. Thus the names were handed down. Some of the great gods of the Etruscans, moreover, bear Italic names: *uni* (Juno) ; *menrva* (Minerva) ; *maris* (Mars) ; *usil* (Sol).<sup>26</sup> The Etruscans, therefore, took the worship of these deities from the Italic people. It is entirely possible, then, that the Etruscans received this story of native Italic growth from the people they conquered ; if they adopted Italic religion, it is not surprising that they should adopt Italic legend. The picture of wolf and twins on the mirror of Bolsena, and of wolf and one child on the stele of Bologna,<sup>27</sup> may thus be traced as readily to an Italic as to a Greek source.

We may now summarize these points. Our argument maintains, with regard to the legend of Romulus and Remus, that Diocles and Fabius wrote their versions independently of one another. They did not, moreover, draw these versions from Naevius ; for the contents of Naevius' play did not, and could not, provide enough material for all the story they told. Their story differs in important details from that of Naevius. Neither did Naevius draw his tale from the *Tyro* of Sophocles, because

<sup>24</sup> Petersen, *Klio* IX (1909), p. 34.

<sup>25</sup> Conway, *Encl. Brit.*, s. v. *Etruria*, pp. 860 ff. ; his argument is based on Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, *Abh. Götting. Ges. d. Wiss.* V, 5 (1904).

<sup>26</sup> G. Körte, *Pauly-Wissowa*, 1907, s. v. *Etrusker*, col. 766.

<sup>27</sup> Petersen (*Klio* IX (1909), pp. 35 f.) thinks that the position of the boy on this stele resembles that of the right-hand twin on the Campanian coins, and that the other twin may be supposed to be covered by the body of the foster-mother.

the imagined likeness between the Greek and the Latin play vanishes on examination of detail.<sup>28</sup> We may therefore conclude that Naevius, Diocles, and Fabius drew their tale from the common source of native tradition. This conclusion is supported in two ways. On the one hand, we find evidence of the representation of wolf and twins, recalling the chief details of the story in Rome and without Rome, and emblematic of her history as city and nascent empire. On the other hand, the presence of the same emblem in Etruria, when viewed in connection with Italic elements traceable in Etruscan language and religion, points to the existence of this old legend among the Italic folk-stories, whence it passed to the Etruscans.

**2. The Clastidium of Naevius.** The problem in this case is different; for this *praetexta* was founded on a fact of contemporary history. Is it probable that Fabius reproduced fictitious episodes from this drama in his *Annals*?

The play celebrated the slaying of Viridumarus, chief of the Gallic Gaesatae, in single combat at Clastidium in 222 B. C. by the consul Claudius Marcellus. We may note that the *Life of Marcellus* by Plutarch, which is drawn from annalistic sources, does not describe the battle at Clastidium in special detail. More space is devoted to the description of the siege of Syracuse and the wonderful contrivances of Archimedes. The military deeds of Marcellus at Canusium are also fully told.

If, moreover, Fabius had been persuaded by drama to give the story of this combat in special detail, we might expect Polybius, who knew the Fabian annals well, to notice it; but, though Polybius describes the movements at Clastidium (II, 34), he does not mention a fight between Marcellus and the Gallic chief.

Finally, historians who wrote after Fabius had probably no access to the *praetextae* of Naevius, and very few knew of their existence.

<sup>28</sup> Holzinger, p. 198: "Man rekonstruiert die Tyro des Sophokles nach dem Muster der Romulussage und freut sich dann über die Ähnlichkeit."

3. **The Sabinae of Ennius.** The question here is, whether this story was first invented by Ennius for his play from Greek elements, or whether our annalistic account came from early native tradition.

The evidence shows that the elements of the legend existed before the time of Fabius, for Plutarch refers to him for the date of the capture of the Sabine maids.<sup>29</sup> The theory that Ennius was the inventor of the legend is not in itself probable. It is scarcely natural that a client of the most powerful families of Rome should have sought their favour by representing, through a brilliant inspiration of his own and independent of all traditional tales, their race as sprung from a group of banditti, scorned by neighbouring folk, and driven to violence in quest of marriage.<sup>30</sup> Further, the various details of the narrative—the outlawed state of the Romans, the seizure of the women, the consequent warfare between Romulus and Tatius, the intervention of Hersilia and the Sabinae between the combatants, and the establishment of the Double Kingdom—form too heterogeneous a mass of extraordinary matter to be credited as the invention of Ennius, the student of the rationalistic teachings of Euhemerus and Epicharmus.<sup>31</sup> Finally, it is hard to see how all these elements could be described in detail in one play, to say nothing of the serious break of unity

<sup>29</sup> *Romulus* 14: τετάρτῳ δὲ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν, ὡς Φάβιος ἱστορεῖ, τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐτολμήθη τῶν γυναικῶν [Sabinarum] (Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* I<sup>2</sup>, Fabius Pictor 7). I have omitted here the story of Tarpeia, of which Fabius Pictor related the essential details (Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, Fab. Pict. 8), as possibly this was not an original part of the Sabine legend. Various theories have been suggested regarding Tarpeia. Pais thinks she was originally a beneficent deity (*Ancient Legends of Roman History*, trans. Cosenza, 1905, p. 105; *Storia Critica di Roma* I, p. 431). Salomon Reinach maintains that her story sprang from a rite, in which spoils captured from the enemy were solemnly declared *taboo* and piled in a consecrated spot, from which none might remove them; the heroine of the district, the *genius loci*, was buried under this pile in punishment for some crime, and thus became the centre of the tale (*Revue Archéologique* XI (1908), pp. 43 ff.). See also on this legend Henry A. Sanders, *The Myth about Tarpeia*, *University of Michigan Studies* I, 1904, pp. 32 ff.

<sup>30</sup> De Gubernatis, *Rivista di Filologia* XL (1912), pp. 453 f.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 454 f.

in place and time; its action must have been concentrated on the battle.

The story of the rape and of the great battle may be satisfactorily accounted for by the old theory which described it as an aetiological tale, devised in order to explain the ceremonies in which the bride was lifted over the threshold and her hair was parted with the head of a lance; these marriage customs were very primitive, and indicate that the tale was of very early origin. The Roman legend that the Sabines had once captured Rome completed the story. The Latin language shows the influence of Oscan, *i. e.* of Sabine, elements, from an early date, in words like *bos*, *bufo*, *rufus*, *scrofa*, *popina*; and there is probably some truth in the legend that told of a Sabine settlement at Rome.

These arguments appear a sufficient basis for the belief that Ennius found his source in a native tale.

4. **The Ambracia of Ennius.** With regard to this *praetexta* we know that none of the four extant fragments finds clear parallel in historical accounts of the siege;<sup>32</sup> and that the source used by Livy and, probably, by his predecessors, was Polybius, who certainly did not draw upon Ennius. The *Ambracia*, moreover, was not read when the later annalists were writing their detailed descriptions between 120 and 60 B. C.

5. **The Paulus of Pacuvius.** Livy (XLIV, 36-43) and Plutarch (*Aem. Paulus* 16-23) follow Polybius (XXIX, 16-18) in the narrative of the battle of Pydna which formed the chief subject of this play; neither shows any trace of the influence of a dramatic version.

With this work the discussion of the earlier period of Roman historiography comes to an end. There is no evidence that any of these five plays in any way influenced the historians of Rome.

There are only two chronicle plays, the *Brutus* and the *Decius* of Accius, which give evidence for the later time. Rhetoric was then influencing history, and it is possible that the

<sup>32</sup> Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, p. 211.

annalists of Accius' day drew upon drama for their material. Yet there is evidence to show that much of the story of these plays was known before they were produced.

6. *The Brutus of Accius.* The reason given for assuming that Livy's narrative of Brutus' deeds came from the *praetexta* of Accius rather than from tradition, is that the story is apparently full of Greek matter. According to Soltau,<sup>23</sup> the tyrannical character given to Tarquin in Livy I, 49 was built up according to the model of Atreus. But Tarquin was known in Roman literature as a tyrant before Accius' day. Cassius Hemina writes (Servius on *Aen.* XII, 603; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, Cass. Hem. 15): Tarquinius Superbum, cum cloacas populum facere coegisset, et ob hanc iniuriam multi se suspendio necarent, iussisse corpora eorum cruci affigi. Polybius, writing about 150 B. C., mentions (III, 22) an ancient treaty struck between Rome and Carthage: γίνονται τοιγαροῦν συνθήκαι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πρῶται κατὰ Λεύκιον Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Μάρκον Ὀράτιον, τοὺς πρῶτους κατασταθέντας ὑπάτους μετὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων κατάλυσιν. The expulsion of the kings was therefore mentioned by Fabius, who also, as we may reasonably infer, told of tyrannical behaviour on the part of the king who was expelled.

Soltau believes, further, that the punishment of his sons by Brutus is modelled on the act of Creon in driving his nearest kinsfolk to death; that, as Eteocles banished Polynices, so Brutus banished Tarquinius Collatinus; as Eteocles and Polynices slew each other in the *Seven Against Thebes*, so did Brutus and Arruns Tarquinius deal to one another the mortal wound in single combat. But the punishment of the sons of Brutus and the banishment of Collatinus are represented by Livy as subsequent to the expulsion of the kings, and could not have been included in this play, which, if it preserved the unities, no doubt ended with the establishing of the Consulate and the flight of Tarquin.

<sup>23</sup> *Röm. Geschichtschreibung*, pp. 37 ff.

There is, again, indication that the story of Brutus was told by Fabius Pictor. Dionysius refers to Fabius in his account of the legend of Lucretia (*Ant. Rom.* IV, 64): Σέξτος ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Ταρκυνίου παίδων ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς πόλιν, ἣ ἑκαλεῖτο Κολλάτεια . . . παρ' ἀνδρὶ κατήχθη συγγενεῖ Λευκίῳ Ταρκυνίῳ τῷ Κολλατίνῳ προσαγορευμένῳ. τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα Φάβιος μὲν υἱὸν εἶναί φησιν Ἑγέρου.

Details of the legend, therefore, were probably not borrowed from Greek literature, and evidence points to the existence of the story before the time of Accius.

7. **The Decius of Accius.** With regard to this drama we only know that the battle of Sentinum and the *devotio* of Decius were recorded in the annals of a contemporary Greek, Duris of Samos.<sup>54</sup> Its basis in history is therefore proved. It is not likely that either the Roman *Annales Maximi* or Duris had any detailed account; but the character of Decius was so picturesque, the man himself (consul four times) and the battle of Sentinum were so important in the history of Rome, that the traditional story regarding both must already have been full and dramatic in the *Annals* of Fabius. Yet both the *Decius* and the *Brutus* of Accius, doubtless striking plays, were produced at a time when historical methods were at their worst;

<sup>54</sup> Münzer, Pauly-Wissowa, 1901, s. v. *Decius*, coll. 2283 f.: "Der Sieg über die Kelten machte auch in der griechischen Welt Aufsehen, so dass ihn Zeitgenossen der Erwähnung wert fanden, und einer von diesen, Duris von Samos, ist der älteste Zeuge für den Tod des Decius in der Schlacht. Leider ist sein Zeugnis nur in ganz entstellter Form erhalten bei Tzetzes zu Lykophr. 1378: γράφει δὲ Δοῦρις (F. H. G., II, 479, frg. 40) Διόδωρος (XXI, 6, 2) καὶ Δίων (frg. 32, 3), ὅτι Σαμνιτῶν, Τυρρηγῶν καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν πολεμούντων Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Δέκιος ὑπάτος Ῥωμαίων, συστράτηγος ὢν Τορκουάτου, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς σφαγὴν, καὶ ἀνηρέθησαν τῶν ἐναντίων ἑκατὸν χιλιάδες αὐθήμερον, wobei Tzetzes den D. mit seinem angeblich bei Vesperis gefallenen Vater zusammenwirft, der College des T. Manlius Torquatus war. Doch verglichen mit Diod. XXI, 6, 1: ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῶν Τυρρηγῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν καὶ Σαμνιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων συμμάχων ἀνηρέθησαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Φαβίου ὑπατεύοντος δέκα μυριάδες, ὥς φησι Δοῦρις, ergibt jene Stelle, dass in dem gleichzeitigen Geschichtswerk des Duris bereits die übertriebensten Gerüchte über die Schlacht Aufnahme fanden, denen sogar Livius (X, 30, 5) den Glauben versagt; es ist daher sehr wahrscheinlich, dass er auch die Devotion des D. wirklich überliefert hat."

and historians may have allowed the drama in these cases to influence their records.

This ends the list of the *praetextae* proved by ancient witness. With regard to the possible existence of others, we may note that the legend of Coriolanus, in its oldest form, need only have told that an exile led his fellows in alliance with the Volscians against Rome, but retreated at his mother's prayer. Details may be referred to later additions made for the glory of the plebs and their political rights;<sup>35</sup> but no *praetexta* need have supplied them.

The ancient date of the story of Horatius is shown in:

1. The suggestion of Warde Fowler<sup>36</sup> that the passing of the guilty man under the yoke was a form of purification, resembling the creeping through a hollow tree of victims of *taboo* among other uncivilized peoples. If, then, Horatius was *taboo* and was purified from his blood guilt in this way, the story of his crime dates from the period when the Romans were still governed by magic.

2. The *patria potestas* claimed by the father of Horatius and his sister.<sup>37</sup>

3. The connection with the right of *provocatio* exercised under the Kings.

The *Nonae Caprotinae*, which Soltau includes among his list of *praetextae*,<sup>38</sup> and of which Varro speaks (*De Ling. Lat.* VI, 19, G. S.: *Nonae Caprotinae, quod eo die in Latio Iunoni Caprotinae mulieres sacrificantur et sub caprifico faciunt; e caprifico adhibent virgam. cur hoc, togata praetexta data eis Apollinaribus ludis docuit populum*), may more naturally be thought to have represented the meaning of old custom to the people at the *Ludi Apollinares* than new fiction.

<sup>35</sup> Mommsen, Die Erzählung von Cn. Marcus Coriolanus, *Römische Forschungen* II, 1879, pp. 113 ff.; but cf. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* II, 1907, p. 109.

<sup>36</sup> *Classical Review* XXVII (1913), p. 49.

<sup>37</sup> Dionysius of Hal., *Ant. Rom.* III, 22.

<sup>38</sup> *Röm. Geschichtschreibung*, pp. 43 f., 263, 264.

The legend of Camillus, in its detailed form, may reasonably be traced to post-Sullan writers.<sup>39</sup>

There is, then, no evidence that the annalists of the earlier period of Roman historiography were influenced by any chronicle play of Naevius, Ennius, or Pacuvius; and all evidence points to the conclusion that both those annalists and these poets found their common source in native tradition existing long before their day. The *Brutus* and the *Decius* of Accius, on the other hand, very possibly influenced historical narrative, because they were composed at a time when Roman writers had little feeling for historical accuracy; yet we may reasonably believe that the story of Brutus was told, as the deed of Decius was done, before Accius recorded either tale. The existence of no other *praetexta* has been proved; none, therefore, can be considered as a witness on either side.

<sup>39</sup> Täubler, Zur Entstehung der Camilluslegende, *Klio* XII (1912), pp. 219 ff. See also Section C, note 14.

## B. THE METHODS OF THE EARLY ROMAN ANNALISTS.

Our knowledge, then, of the early Roman legends and *praetextae* cannot show that dramatic matter influenced the earliest Roman annalists; and the next question arises: Does our knowledge of the work and of the life of the earliest Roman annalists support the belief that they could be influenced in their writings by rhetorical or by dramatic matter, whether borrowed by the Roman playwright from Greece or invented by his own device?

The theory that these annalists adopted the methods of the rhetorical historians of Greece has been widely accepted, and has lately been formulated by Hermann Peter.<sup>1</sup> He argues that

<sup>1</sup> *Wahrheit und Kunst-Geschichtschreibung und Plagiat im klassischen Altertum*, 1911, pp. 274 ff.

Greek literature entered Rome in rhetorical form and that this form was followed by early Roman annalists; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, himself a student of rhetoric, did not criticize Fabius' style, and Plutarch (*Rom.* 8), after narrating the legend of Romulus and Remus, "of which Fabius tells τὰ πλεῖστα," described it as δραματικὸν καὶ πλασματώδες.

We turn to the work of Fabius. It is divided by Dionysius into three parts:

1. The record of Fabius' own times.<sup>2</sup>
2. The record of the first two hundred years of the Republic.<sup>3</sup>
3. The record of the beginnings of Rome.<sup>4</sup>

We may examine the evidence for the first and second of these divisions. Of the first, Dionysius writes: τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκάτερος (Κοῖντός τε Φάβιος καὶ Λεύκιος Κίγκιος), οἷς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔργοις παρεγένετο διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγραψε . . .

In telling of contemporary events, then, the aim of Fabius was exactness; he was scrupulously careful to seek out facts, and whenever possible recorded his matter as proved by the witness of his own eyes. The testimony of Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* VII, 71; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, Fab. Pict. 16), Κοῖντῳ Φαβίῳ βεβαιωτῇ χρόμενος καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτι δεόμενος πίστεως ἑτέρας· παλαιότατος γὰρ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ συνταξαμένων καὶ πίστιν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουσε μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἔγνω παρεχόμενος, very probably refers to repeated assurances, which Dionysius found in the Fabian *Annals*, of personal knowledge on their writer's part.

Polybius, the most sober of historians, uses Fabius here as one of his two principal sources;<sup>5</sup> and in his work testifies emphatically to the respect which Fabius gained both from him and from other readers of history.<sup>6</sup> The fact that Polybius criticized Fabius does not show that he did not follow

<sup>2</sup> *Ant. Rom.* I, 6; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, p. 1xxii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* I, 79 ff.; Peter, Fab. Pict. 5<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> For references in Polybius' *Histories* to Fabius, see I, 14, 15, 58; III, 8, 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Histories* III, 9.

his work or think highly of it; for Polybius criticized all his sources without mercy.<sup>7</sup>

The evidence of Dionysius on the second part runs: τὰ δὲ ἀρχαῖα τὰ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως γερόμενα κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπέδραμεν. In this part, then, Fabius' account was very brief. But the reason for this brevity is that he was avoiding the unauthenticated family legends and clinging closely to the official statements of the *Annales Maximi*, and in this we see the same love of accuracy which characterized his story of his own day. If he had been capable of embodying the plots of legendary and historical plays within his narrative, he would not have hesitated to draw upon hearsay and legend in this part in order to make his work more artistic and complete. Rhetoric and dramatic story were clearly no necessary element here.

We find, therefore, on definite evidence, that in two parts of his work Fabius was an exact and scrupulous writer, who considered truth rather than the public taste.

Nothing compels us to believe that he was less rigid in his standard for the opening part of his narrative. It was indeed full and dramatic, but this very character was due fundamentally to the same scrupulousness. No *Annales* provided materials for the history of the Regal period; hence Fabius gave legends to his readers as the earliest story of their land, and legends were all that he could give. Doubtless, as Livy did afterwards, he warned them in his preface that this narrative was based on hearsay and could not be proved. Yet this tradition he reproduced with all the faithfulness and literal precision within his power. He did not rationalize the story, as later annalists rationalized it, but repeated it word for word, as he knew it, even to the inconsistencies in statement. To this fact are due the criticisms of Dionysius, in which he blames Fabius time after time for giving stories which were not plausible. The version of the Tarpeian legend as given by Piso he preferred to that of Fabius, for it accorded better with

<sup>7</sup> Von Scala, *Die Studien des Polybios*, 1890, Anlage II, *Zu den Quellen des Polybios*, pp. 259 f.

Roman custom.<sup>8</sup> Fabius, further, according to Dionysius, made the altogether irrational statement that the boys who survived Tarquin were his sons, which chronology did not admit; and Piso took the liberty of describing them as grandsons.<sup>9</sup> If Fabius, then, recorded tradition faithfully, he necessarily recorded incidents of a dramatic nature; for the dramatic colour was inherent in his material.

The evidence, moreover, of later Roman critics points in the same direction. Cicero declares (*De Orat.* II, 12, 51; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, p. lxxviii): Atqui, ne nostros contempnas, Graeci quoque ipsi sic initio scriptitarunt, ut noster Cato, ut Pictor, ut Piso; *erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio . . . .* hanc similitudinem [*sc. annalium maximorum*] scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui *sine ullis ornamentis* monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque qualis apud Graecos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas fuit aliique permulti, talis noster Cato et Pictor et Piso, *qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornetur oratio (modo enim huc ista sunt importata)* et dum intellegatur quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem. Again, in the *De Legibus* (I, 2, 6) he writes: Nam post annalis pontificum maximorum . . . . si aut ad Fabium aut ad eum, qui tibi semper in ore est, Catonem, aut ad Pisonem aut ad Fannium aut ad Vennonium venias, quamquam ex his alius alio plus habet virium, *tamen quid tam exile quam isti omnes?*

Sempronius Asellio (Gellius V, 18; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, Semp. Asell. 1) blames them for their bare enumeration of facts, unaccompanied by explanation of motive and plan: Verum inter eos, inquit [*sc. Sempronius Asellio*], qui annales relinquere voluissent, et eos, qui res gestas a Romanis perscribere conati essent, omnium rerum hoc interfuit: annales libri tantum modo quod factum quoque anno gestum sit, ea demonstrabant, id est

<sup>8</sup> *Ant. Rom.* II, 40; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, Piso 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ant. Rom.* IV, 6 and 7; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, p. lxxxiii; Fab. Pict. 11<sup>a</sup>; Piso 15; cf. *Ant. Rom.* IV, 30; Peter, Fab. Pict. 11<sup>b</sup>.

quasi qui diarium scribunt, quam Graeci ἐφημερίδα vocant. nobis non modo satis esse video, quod factum esset, id pronuntiare, sed etiam, quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent, demonstrare.

Later on, matters improved, to Cicero's mind; of Coelius Antipater he writes (*De Orat.* II, 12, 54; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, p. ccxvi (*loquitur M. Antonius*)): Paullum se erexit [*sc. post Catonem, Pictorem, Pisonem*] et addidit historiae maiorem sonum vocis vir optimus, Crassi familiaris, Antipater. *ceteri non exornatores rerum sed tantum modo narratores fuerunt.* Est, inquit Catulus, ut dicis, sed iste ipse Coelius neque distinxit historiam varietate colorum neque verborum collocatione et tractu orationis leni et aequabili perpolivit illud opus; sed ut homo neque doctus neque maxime aptus ad dicendum, sicut potuit, dolavit; vicit tamen, ut dicis, superiores.

This evidence, then, of later times emphatically denies the adornment of rhetorical matter in the early Roman annals.

We shall now consider that school of Greek historiography which has been held to provide the model for beginners at Rome.<sup>10</sup> After the time of Isocrates a marked reaction from the method of Thucydides took place among historians; and with his two followers, Ephorus and Theopompus, rhetoric began to dominate. Both were determined, above all, to win readers for their work, and hence to introduce all features which would tend to make it more attractive. To this epideictic aim was sacrificed the desire for truth. Elaborate speeches, rhetorical commonplaces, panegyrics, all helped to fill out the strict account; legendary matter was not only freely inserted, but even, in the case of the tale of Merope, invented for the occasion. This example was followed by the majority of later Greek historians; among them by Timaeus, by Hegesias, and by Duris of Samos. Timaeus, who lived until 256 B. C., studied rhetoric at Athens under a pupil of Isocrates, and his work

<sup>10</sup> For the details of the following sections, see Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians*, 1909, pp. 160 ff.

shows the influence of this school. Yet he did not conform to Attic standards, but, apparently, in common with Hegesias, adopted a new style of historiography. Of this Bury writes: "The literary parentage of this new style is to be sought in the prose of the elder sophists, like Gorgias and Alcidas, but it outdid anything that Gorgias in his most frigid moments had been tempted to essay. It produces the impression of a bacchic revel of rhythms and verbal effects." For two hundred years Timaeus, together with his contemporary Duris, held the public mind. Duris emphasized, above all, the importance of dramatic effect in historiography; imaginary scenes of stirring pathos, anecdotes, spicy details, were introduced to keep his readers in thrall.<sup>11</sup>

The work of historians, therefore, among the Greek writers of the third century B. C. corresponded to the work of novelists at the present time, and history did duty in providing light literature for the educated public. Its tendency would naturally lead it towards fiction in its own sphere.<sup>12</sup> If, then, Fabius and his followers were imitating Greek historiography, we should expect them to imitate these writers of their own century, Timaeus and Duris, whose works had travelled far and wide

<sup>11</sup> In its subject-matter, the work of Timaeus and Duris, in so far as it touched upon Rome, was only in the nature of an Appendix. Timaeus, after writing a history of Sicily and Italy, added a biography of Agathocles and an account of events as far as 264 B. C., among which he described the battles fought by Pyrrhus. Duris described the battle of Sentinum, but only in connection with his Life of Agathocles. It is not surprising, therefore, that Polybius should have felt it necessary to help his Greek readers by prefixing to his narrative of the Punic Wars some account of the earlier history of Rome (I, 3): *ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τοῦ Καρχηδονίων πολιτεύματος πρόχειρός ἐστι τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡ προγεγενημένη δύναμις οὐδ' αἱ πράξεις αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ὑπελάβομεν εἶναι συντάξασθαι ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς βύβλον πρὸ τῆς ἱστορίας.*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Cicero to Luceius in *Fam.* V, 12, where Luceius is urged to write the narrative of Cicero's deeds in a manner which shall delight his readers' taste and appeal to their emotions. Of the earlier part of this letter Reitzenstein states (*Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, 1906, p. 85): "Es ist die einzige erhaltene Theorie der hellenistischen Geschichtsschreibung."

and who were famous as historians.<sup>13</sup> Yet, as we have seen, the evidence of later writers with regard to these earliest annalists points absolutely in the opposite direction.

On the other side, our knowledge of the life of Fabius indicates a training in which he must have acquired methods of strict accuracy in dealing with material. As senator, he was not only well acquainted with State history, but, what was more important, he had learnt from his official position to respect official matter; in dealing as statesman with laws and treaties he cultivated that feeling for precision which stamps his work. The *mos maiorum* held the senators of Rome under its influence long after the institutions of primitive times had passed out of date. The *patria potestas* still lived, though government by tribes had for centuries ceased to exist. International arbitration still followed the course laid down by the fetial laws of the stone age, and by the old system of *foedera*, devised originally for alliances between small neighbouring tribes, though Rome had risen to leading power, and the other Mediterranean peoples were striking treaties of manifold kind. The ancient forms were carefully guarded in unwritten tradition, transmitted by word of mouth from each generation of statesmen to their successors in official rank.

As priest, Fabius had gained a priest's respect for precise and accurate formulae, and for the priestly *Annales Maximi*, "quibus nihil potest esse ieiunius." The repetition of primitive formulae, as those of the Arval brothers, still practiced at a time when words or phrases were no longer intelligible, gives evidence of the conservative character of the priesthood of Rome.

<sup>13</sup> The Greek historians of the deeds of Hannibal—Chaereas, Sosylus of Ilium, and Silenus of Calacte—belonged to this rhetorical school. Chaereas and Sosylus are vigorously condemned by Polybius as chattering fit for barbers' shops; and the fragments yet extant of their work tell of an elaborate debate in the Roman Senate after the taking of Saguntum. Yet more ornate is the story of Hannibal's dream which Coelius Antipater found in Silenus (Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst*, pp. 236 ff.).

For the man, therefore, trained as Fabius had been trained in the strict school of official statesmanship and of priestly office, for one who represented as statesman, priest, and aristocrat the gravest class of his grave Roman compatriots, rhetoric and drama, either based on stories imported from Greece or manufactured at Rome, were impossible in the discharge of his office as historian. He could not digress from actual records and authentic witness to waste time on rhetorical and entertaining details; he could not offer as official history a poet's fiction first put forth in the lifetime of himself and of his readers by the slave actors of the Roman theatre.<sup>14</sup> Greek writings might easily find acceptance as models among playwrights at Rome, where the theatre was never viewed seriously as in Greece; for the Roman historian in this early stage of Roman civilization no writings were of account except those sanctioned by intimate connection with tradition, of greater account here than among any other people. Few laws had yet been registered; the necessity laid upon all was an unwritten one. In primitive times this, and not written matter, is of importance. In early Greece death was preferable to its neglect, and in Rome the *mos maiorum* ruled every department of civic and domestic life. Bound up with it was the story of the beginning of the nation, which, too, had been handed down as an heritage from father to son; and it never occurred to Fabius to touch rhetoric in its presentation, or any written work except the State records. Even if he could have broken through every tradition of his life in beginning such a practice, yet he would not have dared to come before Rome as her historian with a foreign tale; and foreign it must have been. There was no time for an invention of Naevius to grow into anything that would be accepted as history between the date of the *Romulus* and of the *Fabian Annals*.

At this point we may briefly sum up our argument. In consideration of the question whether Fabius and his immediate

<sup>14</sup> De Gubernatis, *Rivista di Filologia* XL (1912), p. 447.

successors were influenced by rhetorical or dramatic matter in recording Roman annals, we note:

1. The exact manner in which Fabius told the history of his own times, and the precise manner in which he told only what official history he could find for the period 500-300 B. C., compel us to infer a like scrupulous account of the beginnings of Rome.
2. The judgment passed by later Romans, skilled in rhetoric, on their early annalists is in no way applicable to a rhetorical style such as that of those Greek historians whom Fabius and his contemporaries could have followed.
3. The training of these early Roman writers would naturally have enforced in them contempt for rhetoric and for drama as sources of material.

It appears reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the early Roman annalists did not follow the rhetorical method of Greece, and did not draw upon their own playwrights' adaptations from Greek drama, or original inventions<sup>15</sup> in their work. It would rather seem that here we have yet another initial movement in the writing of history. One has been noted among the Israelites in the Jahwistic document which afterwards gave matter for the Hexateuch; it was the first attempt to form a connected written history from the records contained in their song and saga, and dates probably from the eighth or ninth century B. C.<sup>16</sup> A second movement originated more than a century later, among the Greeks, in the genealogies of Hesiod, and was developed into the beginning of real history in the work of Hecataeus: "so in der Völkertafel des Jahwisten und den entsprechenden Abschnitten der Kataloge Hesiods . . . die

<sup>15</sup> The evidence of the extant citations from *praetextae* shows no influence upon these men. Of the thirty-two fragments which remain only five are cited by writers other than grammarians; none is mentioned in any connection with historical matter. Cicero quotes once from Naevius (*Cato Mai.* 6, 20; Ribb., *Sc. Rom. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 322) with reference to youth and old age; and from the *Brutus* of Accius twice, once as an illustration of the interpretation of dreams (*De Div.* I, 22, 44; Ribb., p. 329), once in a reference to himself (*Pro Sestio* 58, 123; Ribb., p. 330).

<sup>16</sup> Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I<sup>2</sup>, 1907, pp. 226 f.; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible* II, 1899, s. v. *Hexateuch*, p. 375.

dann bei fortschreitender Entwicklung zu selbständigen Werken über Geographie und Völkerkunde führen kann, die bereits echt historische Abschnitte enthalten, so bei Hekataeos."<sup>17</sup> And now a third movement, equally original, though seldom recognized as such, started in the *Annales* of Fabius Pictor. Roman historiography, as shown in the earliest Roman annals, was born of the official and unrhetorical spirit of Rome, and arose in Rome independently of Greek models.<sup>18</sup>

A close parallel with this native departure at Rome, and with Fabius himself, is found in the first historical records of Iceland, and in their compiler, Are Frode.<sup>19</sup> His work dates from the early part of the twelfth century, and in it he traced, as did Fabius, the history of his own land from the beginning down to his own day. He also was a priest, and had read the saints' tales introduced after the conversion of the island to Christianity; he was likewise a scholar, well versed in Latin literature, and had an intimate acquaintance with the cultured men of his age. But literature does not supply his material, and only once or twice in this work is mention made of a written source; the rest comes from oral tradition, which is repeatedly given as the authority. The names of those from whom Are heard his story are carefully cited, and witness is given to their special qualification. Here we find once more a native original attempt to record tradition, practically uninfluenced by the classical literature which might well be expected to serve as model.

Why, then, did Fabius write in Greek? The reason was simply that Greek "was the Esperanto of those parts of the

<sup>17</sup> Meyer, p. 227.

<sup>18</sup> The knowledge of Greek literature ascribed to the earliest Roman annalists appears exaggerated. They might indeed have read Timaeus and Duris, whose works were very popular; but there is no reason to suppose that at their yet immature stage of Greek culture they had studied the ἄρτοι Κυβικηνῶν of Neanthes, or "die horographischen Lokalchroniken der Griechen." (Norden, *Die röm. Literatur, Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* I, 1910, p. 468.)

<sup>19</sup> *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek* I, Ares Isländerbuch, Einleitung (Wolfgang Golther), 1892.

universe that counted";<sup>20</sup> Fabius, like every Roman, was centred in his city, and wished to find for her history as large a circle of readers as possible, not merely in Rome, but in Magna Graecia, possibly in Greece itself. His immediate successors followed his example, until the anti-rhetorical, anti-Greek spirit was more consciously expressed in Cato's choice of the Latin tongue. For Cato's subject-matter, the Origins of Italy, the annalistic form was not suitable, and he discarded it. But all his work shows the same love of accuracy and precision, the same lack of rhetoric. The fragments of his speeches prove the crudity of his style; he included them, not to adorn his work, but to ensure their preservation.

For these writers history and poetry were no synonymous terms. But as time, and with it civilization, advanced at Rome, the prosaic and dry standard of the early annalists gradually disappeared. Ennius was far more interested in Greek culture than Fabius or Cincius; and his adaptations from Greek tragedy no doubt encouraged him, when acting as historian, to play more freely with his material than he otherwise would have done. Besides, he frankly assumed the rôle of epic poet. With his work, bearing the same title *Annales*, but written in verse, the distinction between history and poetry became less clear. It gave an initial impulse towards a more picturesque style of narrative in history, which developed more strongly and was carried into the sphere of prose in the days of the Gracchi, with the fashion of writing personal memoirs; these culminated in Sulla's tale of his *Life*, told in more than twenty books.<sup>21</sup> During this age the old feeling for accuracy and scrupulous repetition was lost; the very fulness in which the narrative was given would widen the limits allowed to history. Shortly after, we find the inaccuracies of Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias, the fictitious speeches of Licinius Macer; literal tradi-

<sup>20</sup> Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

<sup>21</sup> Zarncke, *Der Einfluss der griechischen Literatur auf die Entwicklung der röm. Prosa, Commentationes Ribbeckianae*, 1888, pp. 310-316; Soltau, *Röm. Geschichtschreibung*, ch. VII, Die zeitgeschichtlichen Memoirenwerke der Gracchenzeit und ihr Einfluss auf die Rekonstruktion der Geschichte früherer Epochen, pp. 153 ff.

tion was now subordinated to the endeavour to produce attractive and well-arranged periods. Borrowings were also made without hesitation from literature to enhance the interest of the account, imaginary descriptions of events at home and in the field were readily composed, and the history of primitive times was cast in the mould of the day.<sup>22</sup> It was these men who followed the school instituted by Ephorus and Theopompus, and who may rightly be termed followers of Greek rhetoric. When they turned to tell of Roman legends, embellishments of tradition were naturally frequent, devised for the glory of individual patrons or drawn from the more or less fictitious stories that had accumulated around their clans. Finally, as we may believe, the later historians, to whom the historical plays of Naevius, Ennius, and Pacuvius were lost, were willing even to embody in their narratives details which they had learnt from Accius on the stage.

<sup>22</sup> Soltau, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 f.; Cicero, *Brutus* XI, 42; XVI, 62.

### C. THE ANNALES OF ENNIUS.

Our position, then, is this: The earliest Roman *praetextae*, including those of Ennius, did not influence the narrative of Roman history; the earliest Roman annalists could not draw upon these *praetextae* in their records. We are now to consider the place of the *Annales* in the historical literature of the Republic. This problem requires the investigation of two points: The first is that of Ennius' method as an historian; the second, that of the influence of his *Annals* upon later historians of the Republican time.

That the poet intended his *Annals* to serve, at least in certain parts, as authentic history, we may assume at once from his

care in retaining many prosaic details of the *Annales Maximi* and other priestly records. Like the *Annales Maximi*, the *Annals* of Ennius marked time by the record of consulships, and examples of such record are seen in lines: 295 (214 B. C.; cf. Livy XXIV, 9); 303 f. (204 B. C.; cf. Livy XXIX, 13); 329 (200 B. C.; cf. Livy XXXI, 5, 6); 331 (198 B. C.; cf. Livy XXXII, 7). A similar care appears in the lines which preface the narrative of the Macedonian War in Book X:<sup>1</sup>

Insece Musa manu Romanorum induperator  
Quod quisque in bello gessit cum rege Philippo.

Lines, further, occur which might spring directly from the early official records of Rome. Such are those which tell of: the religious institutions of Numa (ll. 120 f., Vah.):

Mensas constituit idemque ancilia  
Libaque fectores Argeos et tutulatos;

and especially the dull record of names, which Vahlen, correctly, it would seem, placed directly after (ll. 122 ff.):

Volturnalem Palatuaalem Furinalem  
Floralemque Falacrem et Pomonalem fecit  
Hic idem;

the founding of Ostia (ll. 144 f.):

Ostia munita est; idem loca navibus pulchris  
Munda facit: nautisque mari quaesentibus vitam;

the conquest of Anxur (406 B. C., l. 162):

Vulsculus perdidit Anxur;

the eclipse of 404 B. C. (l. 163):

. nonis Iunis soli luna obstitit et nox

(eclipses were regularly recorded in the *Annales Maximi* (Gellius II, 28; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, Cato, Frag. 77), and Cicero related expressly that this one was mentioned both there

<sup>1</sup> For these details see Skutsch, Pauly-Wissowa, 1905, s. v. *Ennius*, coll. 2603 f.; and Vahlen's edition. For explanation of fragments of the *Annales* see the preface to this edition.

and in Ennius (*De Rep.* I, 16, 25; Vah. ed. p. 29)) ; the enfranchisement of Campanians (l. 169) :

Cives Romani tunc facti sunt Campani ;

the declaration of the First Punic War (l. 223) :

Appius indixit Karthaginiensibus bellum.

Suitable matter for the most unimaginative prose historians is continually found in the fragments. Any of these writers might have produced in substance the following descriptions of : the attack of the Gauls upon Rome (ll. 164 f.) :

Qua Galli furtim noctu summa arcis adorti

Moenia concubia vigilesque repente cruentant ;

the preparations for war with Pyrrhus (ll. 183 ff.) :

Proletarius publicitus scutisque feroque

Ornatur ferro, muros urbemque forumque

Excubiis curant ;

the events of the First Punic War (ll. 224 ff.) :

(224) Explorant Numidae totum : quatit ungula terram

(225) Mulserat huc navem compulsam fluctibus pontus

(232 f.) Denique vi magna quadrupes eques atque elephantii  
Proiciunt sese

(265) Poeni stipendia pendunt ;

the allies convoked by the Romans before the battle of Cannae (l. 276) :

Marsa manus, Peligna cohors, Vestina virum vis ;

a night march (of Hannibal?) towards Rome (l. 297) :

Ob Romam noctu legiones ducere coepit ;

the victorious return of Livius Nero in 207 B. C. (l. 301) :

Livius inde redit magno mactatus triumpho ;

the levy of Flaminius for the war against Philip (ll. 332 f.) :

Insignita fere tum milia militum octo

Duxit delectos bellum tolerare potentes.

Such passages obviously prove that the poet regarded himself as a recorder of reliable history.

Even in the choice of material there is evidence that Ennius followed the method by which Fabius Pictor divided his space among the three periods of his history. He certainly told the story of Romulus and of the six succeeding kings of Rome with considerable fulness; three books, one sixth of his whole work, were devoted to their reigns. Later on, when he gave the narrative of modern days, the wars with Pyrrhus occupied a whole book; the First Punic War, although already discussed by Naevius, took another; the Second Punic War occupied two; and so on. His history must therefore have contained abundant detail. Yet only two books were assigned to the history of the two hundred years following the expulsion of Tarquin; and the natural conclusion is that Ennius, also, treated this period in summary fashion because, like Fabius, he was unwilling to rely on unauthenticated family tales. Our examination, then, at this point seems to indicate that Ennius sympathized with the careful methods of Roman annalists of the earliest time.

We reach similar results if we compare the testimony of other men to Ennius as an historian. Both Cicero (*De Inv.* I, 19, 27) and the *auctor ad Herennium* (I, 8, 12 f.) divided literary *negotiorum expositio* into three classes: *fabula*, *historia*, *argumentum*.<sup>2</sup> The *auctor ad Herennium* gave no examples of the several divisions; Cicero gave one for each. *Fabula* was illustrated by a line from tragedy, *argumentum* by a quotation from Terence, *historia* by a line from the *Annals* of Ennius: *Historia est gesta res, ab aetatis nostrae memoria remota; quod genus:*

Appius induxit Karthaginiensibus bellum [l. 223].

<sup>2</sup>The passages are collected in *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, Reitzenstein, 1906, p. 92.

Cicero could have drawn like examples from many prose historians, had he so wished.<sup>3</sup>

Further, Cicero confidently attributed words from the *Annales* to historical characters:<sup>4</sup> To Pyrrhus (*De Off.* I, 12, 38; Vah. ed. p. 35): Pyrrhi quidem de captivis reddendis illa praeclara: [Ennius, *Annales*, Book VI, Frag. 12, follows here: Nec . . . dis (ll. 194 ff., quoted below, p. 47)]. Regalis sane et digna Aeacidarum genere sententia; to Appius Claudius (*Cato Mai.* 6, 16; Vah. ed. p. 36): Tamen is, cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecutus est Ennius [ll. 202 f.] ceteraque gravissime; notum enim vobis carmen est; et tamen ipsius Appi extat oratio. Cicero would hardly have quoted Ennius in this way, while the actual words of Appius were still to be read, if he had not looked upon the version in the *Annals* as true to history.

Cicero was willing, again, to accept the statements which Ennius made with regard to certain men: Cornelius Cethegus (*Brutus* 15, 57; Vah. ed. p. 53): M. Cornelius Cethegus, cuius eloquentiae est auctor, et idoneus quidem mea sententia, Q. Ennius, praesertim cum et ipse eum audiverit; Aelius Sextus

<sup>3</sup> The word *historia* has been understood here as "historical romance"; but Cicero's respect for it as meaning sober history is seen in the following passages:

*De Legibus* I, 1, 5:

Quintus. Intellego te, frater, alias in historia leges observandas putare, alias in poemate.

Marcus. Quippe, quom in illa omnia ad veritatem, Quinte, referantur; in hoc ad delectationem pleraque.

*De Finibus* V, 22, 64: Talibus exemplis non fictae solum fabulae, verum etiam historiae refertae sunt, et quidem maxime nostrae.

*Brutus* 16, 62: Quamquam his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior. Multa enim scripta sunt in eis quae facta non sunt.

Cicero made a deliberate exception, however, for the narrative of his own deeds! *Fam.* V, 12, 3 (to Lucceius): Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis, et in eo leges historiae neglegas.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vahlen, *praef.* ed., pp. xlvii f.

(*De Rep.* I, 18, 30): Here Cicero quotes from the *Annales*, line 331 (Vah. ed. p. 59):

Egregie cordatus homo catus Aelius Sextus,

and then remarks: qui egregie cordatus et catus fuit et ab Ennio dictus est; Fabius Maximus (*De Off.* I, 24, 84; Vah. ed. p. 66): Iidem gloriae iacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne re publica quidem postulante. . . . Quanto Q. Maximus melius! de quo Ennius [ll. 370 f.]:

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

Non enim rumores ponebat ante salutem;

M'. Curius (*De Rep.* III, 3, 6; Vah. ed. p. 66): Haec civilis [*sc. vita*] laudabilior est certe et inlustrior, ex qua vita sic summi viri ornantur, ut vel M'. Curius:

Quem nemo ferro potuit superare nec auro [l. 373].

He believed, also, that remembrance of Cethegus, and possibly of many others, was due to Ennius (*Brutus* 15, 60; Vah. ed. p. 54): At hic Cethegus consul cum P. Tuditano fuit bello Punico secundo quaestorque his consulibus M. Cato modo plane annis CXL ante me consulem: et id ipsum nisi unius esset Enni testimonio cognitum, hunc vetustas, ut alios fortasse multos, oblivione obruisset; and he recorded without question (*De Prov. Cons.* 9, 20; Vah. ed. p. 81), as a matter of history and of the *Annales* of Ennius, the reconciliation of Lepidus and Fulvius on their entrance to the censorship in 179 B. C.

From this evidence, therefore, both internal and external, we may conclude that Ennius, although a poet, yet possessed the early Roman feeling for accuracy in recording historical detail.

Yet the free use which Ennius made of Homeric poetry has led recent critics to suspect that he created Homeric incidents and inserted them in his *Annals* of Rome. These writers, encouraged by Zarncke and Soltau, are inclined to believe that the stories of Coriolanus and Camillus, and many other legends of the Early Republic, are largely fabrications of Ennius,

drawn by the poet on Homeric lines.<sup>5</sup> If this is true, the position of the *Annals* as history is obviously lower than Cicero's estimate would imply.

There is of course no doubt that Ennius drew widely upon Homeric words and phrases;<sup>6</sup> from the many examples noted from the *Annales* we may cite:

l. 415, Vah.: Concidit, et sonitum simul insuper arma dederunt  
(cf. Δ 504: δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι);

l. 393: Horrescit telis exercitus asper utrimque  
(cf. N 339: ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχῃ φθισίμβροτος ἐγχείησι);

l. 531: Clamor ad caelum volvendus per aethera vagit  
(cf. P 424 f.: σιδήρειος δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς  
χάλκεον οὐρανὸν ἵκε δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο);

l. 584: animus cum pectore latrat  
(cf. v 13: κραδίη δέ οἱ ἔνδον ἱλάκτει);

ll. 561 f.: Non si, lingua loqui saperet quibus, ora decem sint,  
Innumerus, ferro cor sit pectusque revinctum  
(cf. B 489 f.: οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν,  
φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη).

Homer gave the initial inspiration, and explained Pythagorean tenets in a prelude; throughout the whole, language and style are modelled after the Homeric manner. Detailed descriptions of battles may be compared with corresponding passages in the *Iliad*; the tribune's hard struggle against the Istrians told in the *Annales* XV, Vah., recalls that of Ajax in II 102 ff.; the sally of the two Istrians described in the *Annales* XV, Vah., is similar to that of the two Lapithae told in M 131 ff. Preparations for the burial of those slain at Heraclea

<sup>5</sup> Zarncke, *Der Einfluss der griech. Litteratur auf die Entwicklung der röm. Prosa, Commentationes Ribbeckianae*, 1888, pp. 274 ff.; O. Hirschfeld, *Zur Camillus-Legende, Festschrift für Ludwig Friedländer*, 1895 (= *Kleine Schriften*, 1913, p. 286; cf. Pais, *Storia di Roma*, I, 2, p. 42); Soltau, *Röm. Geschichtschreibung*, 1909, ch. III, *Ennius' Annales*; Täubler, *Zur Entstehung der Camilluslegende, Klio* XII (1912), p. 220.

<sup>6</sup> For the following, and further, details see Skutsch, *Pauly-Wissowa*, s. v. *Ennius*, especially coll. 2610 ff.; and Vahlen's edition *passim*.

are made as preparations were made for the burial of Patroclus ; compare *Annales* VI, ll. 187 ff., with Ψ 114 ff.

The speeches of Homer's poetry, again, were imitated by Ennius ; that of Appius Claudius before the Senate against Pyrrhus in the *Annales* VI begins (ll. 202 f.) :

Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant  
Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?

and is imitated from the address of Hecuba in Ω 201 f. :

ὦ μοι, πῇ δὴ τοι φρένες οἴχονθ', ἧς τὸ πάρος περ  
ἔκλευ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ξείνους ἦδ' οἴσιν ἀνάσσεις ;

The Homeric similes are also represented by parallels in the Roman poems ; the contest of the winds in the *Annales*, ll. 443 ff. :

Concurrunt veluti venti cum spiritus austri  
Imbricitor aquiloque suo cum flamine contra  
Indu mari magno fluctus extollere certant,

recalls I 44 ff. :

ὥς δ' ἄνεμοι δύο πόντον ὀρίνετον ἰχθυόεντα,  
Βορρῆς καὶ Ζέφυρος, τότε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον,  
ἐλθόντ' ἐξαπίνης · ἄμυδις δέ τε κύμα κελαινὸν  
κορθύεται, πολλὸν δὲ παρέξ ἅλα φῦκος ἔχεναν.

Another example was noted by Macrobius, the illustration drawn from the horse in the *Annales*, ll. 514 ff. :

Et tum sicut equus qui de praesepibus fartus  
Vincla suis magnis animis abrupit et inde  
Fert sese campi per caerula laetaque prata,  
Celso pectore saepe iubam quassat simul altam,  
Spiritus ex anima calida spumas agit albas ;

and in Z 506 ff. :

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,  
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων,  
εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἑὺρρεῖος ποταμοῖο,  
κυδιόων · ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται  
ῥμοῖς αἰτissonται · ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθὼς,  
ρίμφα ἐ γοῦνα φέρει μετὰ τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων.

Further details may be traced in the long list given by Skutsch, which yields conclusive proof that Ennius, before writing this work, had entirely saturated his mind with the Homeric manner and Homeric words.<sup>7</sup>

But these borrowings from Homer, although numerous, do not extend beyond form; they consist of beginnings and endings of lines, phrases, whole lines, adapted by Ennius as suitable for the expression of his record. The question yet remains whether he allowed himself free invention of whole episodes on Homeric models, and thereby created new legends which later annalists adopted as actual history. Zarneke and his followers have drawn special attention to the Homeric colouring in Livy's narrative of the battle of Lake Regillus, and of the bold attack whereby Marcus Valerius, brother of

<sup>7</sup> A second influence which, no doubt, impressed itself strongly upon the Ennian *Annales* was that of Callimachus; it may be seen especially in the dream which prefaces the story, and we may compare the dream of Callimachus:

εὐτέ μιν ἐκ Λιβύης ἀναείρας εἰς Ἑλικῶνα  
ἦγαγες ἐν μέσσαις Πιερίδεσσι φέρων  
αἱ δὲ οἱ εἰρομένῳ ἀμφ' ὠγυγίων ἥρώων  
Αἵτια καὶ μακάρων εἶπον ἀμειβόμεναι.

Skutsch, *s. v. Ennius*, p. 2613; *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, 1901, pp. 34 f. The philosophy imparted by Homer, and the personal address of Ennius to his readers, may be due to the same source. (See Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Sappho und Simonides*, 1913, p. 291.) Hellenistic precedent for the writing of historical epic certainly existed in the epics of Rhianos of Crete, dating from the second half of the third century, B. C. Of the four which he composed, *Θεσσαλικά*, *Ἀχαιικά*, *Ἰλιακά*, and *Μεσσηνιακά*, the last, which told the events of the Second Messenian War, was best known, and followed Homer both in diction and in the depicting of individual scenes. Pausanias used it as a source for the history of Messenia, in which he stated (IV, 6, 1), τοῦτον τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸν πόλεμον Ῥιανὸς τε ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὁ Βηναῖος, and (IV, 6, 3), Ῥιανῷ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν οὐδὲν Ἀριστομένους ἐστὶν ἀφανέστερος ἢ Ἀχιλλεύς ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὀμήρῳ.

Of interest also in this connection are the Jewish epics written in Greek by Philo the elder, who in his *περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα* probably told the history of Jerusalem and of the Jewish kings; and by Theodotus, to whom is ascribed a *περὶ Ἰουδαίων*. Both are in hexameter verse and may be dated *circa* 200 B. C.; the work of Philo shows the artificial and complex diction of the Alexandrians, while Theodotus gave his tale with epic fulness, but in simple Homeric style. (See Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* I, 1910, p. 460; Christ, *Griech. Literaturgeschichte* II, 1, 1911, pp. 109 f., 460 ff.; Pais, *Storia Critica di Roma* I, 1913, p. 77.) Ennius may possibly have seen some of this work.

Publicola, terrified Tarquin during the fight described in Livy II, 20, with which Zarncke compared Γ 15 ff.; of the challenge of the Gaul, and the answer and splendid victory of Titus Manlius, related in Livy VII, 9 f., with which he compared Η 73 ff., 92 ff.; and of the life of Camillus. These narratives he traced back to Ennius.<sup>8</sup>

Yet in no case are these hypotheses founded upon direct proof that the *Annales* of Ennius even contained such episodes, which are only assumed for his account on the appearance of certain narratives in the Homeric poems. On the other hand, the later rhetorical annalists of Rome were generally well versed in Homer, and followed the Greek rhetorical historians who cultivated the epic style.<sup>9</sup> Coelius Antipater, in his history of the Second Punic War, drew upon a writer of the Greek rhetorical school, Silenus, and did not scruple to introduce fictitious matter, such as dreams or councils of the gods, from his account.<sup>10</sup> Many of the epic passages may come from a similar Greek source.

Critics assume Homeric colouring, moreover, in several passages, as in Livy II, 20; VII, 9 ff.; and the account of the battle of Zama (XXX, 32 ff.), because the stories describe challenges and single combats.<sup>11</sup> But these challenges and duels are not necessarily Homeric; single combats, with the consequent glory of the victor and downfall of the boastful enemy, form a natural part of any country's tradition. The methods of warfare characteristic of the Homeric age were in vogue in early Rome to a comparatively late time, as is shown by the instances of the *spolia opima*, and the duel between the Latin champion and Titus Manlius in 340 B. C.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Commentationes Ribbeckianae*, pp. 275 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Zarncke, p. 276, note 1.

<sup>10</sup> Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.* I<sup>2</sup>, 1914, Coel. Antipater, p. ccxxi; *ibid.*, Coel. Antipater, Frag. 11; cf. Frag. 34; *Wahrheit und Kunst*, pp. 295 f.

<sup>11</sup> Zarncke, *Commentationes Ribbeckianae*, pp. 276 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Livy VIII, 7. W. Helbig (Sur les attributs des Saliens, *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France* XXXVII, 1906, pp. 205 ff.) thinks that the battles of early Rome were more Homeric in character than the annalists have shown; on pages 275 f. he writes: "Nous avons vu

We have already noted that the account given by Ennius of the period in question, the two centuries following 509 B. C., was brief and lacking in detail; his two books cover the field of Livy, Books II-XI. It was exactly in this period that the later annalists were richest in legends. The stories given by Livy include those of Horatius Cocles, Cloelia, Scaevola, Coriolanus, Appius Claudius the decemvir, Cincinnatus, Servilius Ahala, Cornelius Cossus, Camillus, Torquatus, Valerius Corvus, Decius Mus, Publius Philo, Papirius Cursor, and so on. It appears, then, that most of this material found its way into the work of the annalists after Ennius' day.

Cicero, again, mentions none of these heroes of the fifth and the fourth century in connection with Ennius.<sup>13</sup> He quotes the poet in connection with the great men of historical times: Pyrrhus (*De Div.* II, 56, 116; *De Off.* I, 12, 38; *Cat. Mai.* 6, 16); Cornelius Cethegus (*Brutus* 15, 57 f.; *Cat. Mai.* 14, 50); Cato (*Pro Archia* 9, 22); Scipio Africanus (*Pro Archia* 9, 22; *De Fin.* II, 32, 106); Aelius Sextus (*De Rep.* I, 18, 30; *De Orat.* I, 45, 198 (cf. *Tusc. Disp.* I, 9, 18)); Fabius Maximus (*De Off.* I, 24, 84; *Pro Archia* 9, 22; *Cat. Mai.* 4, 10); M'. Curius (*De Rep.* III, 3, 6); Marcellus (*Pro Archia* 9, 22); Fulvius Nobilior (*Pro Archia* 9, 22); Aemilius Lepidus (*De Prov. Cons.* 9, 20). He quotes Ennian material for the Regal period twelve times. But for the narrative of this semi-

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qu'avant leurs relations avec les Hellènes les habitants de l'Italie subirent l'influence de la civilisation mycénienne . . . . Nous devons faire abstraction des descriptions fantaisistes que les annalistes ont données des batailles livrées au début de l'histoire romaine, descriptions d'après lesquelles des soldats de cavalerie auraient ouvert le combat, et les *milites* auraient été armés de la même façon que les fantassins helléniques. Les batailles auxquelles participèrent les milices du Septimontium et de la commune établie sur le Quirinal ressemblaient plutôt à celles que décrit l'épopée homérique. Les chefs entraient en campagne, montés sur des chars. Tous les autres guerriers faisaient les marches et combattaient à pied. Leur équipement ainsi que celui des chefs, dans le type des coiffures, des boucliers, des ceintures, des épées et probablement aussi des chaussures, révélait l'influence de la civilisation mycénienne; il offrait beaucoup de points de contact avec l'armement attribué aux guerriers dans les plus anciens chants de l'Iliade."

<sup>13</sup> See Vahlen's edition *passim*.

legendary period he only mentions Ennius once, and that for the date of an eclipse (*De Rep.* I, 16, 25). With the exception of this instance, all the fragments from Books IV and V are quoted by commentators or grammarians alone, which points to a brief and uninteresting treatment of matter in this part.

It is probable, therefore, that the full legends of the Early Republic, though partly formed by the time of Ennius, were not to any considerable extent accepted or elaborated by him. The legend of Camillus is an example of the manner in which detail after detail was added, in annals of the period between Fabius and Plutarch, to the originally brief records, under the influence of family legends, of similarity in religious elements, of late Greek historical methods, of attempts at rationalizing, and of aetiological explanations of older tales. A series of studies on this legend has pointed out many additions of this kind.<sup>44</sup> Polybius knew no rescue of Rome by Camillus, and the story could have developed under the influence of Sulla's work as dictator at Rome. Camillus, as dictator, annulled the agreement that Rome should be freed by gold from Gallic arms; "ferroque non auro recuperare patriam iubet" are the words of Livy (V, 49, 3). The fact that Ennius told a similar detail of Pyrrhus (l. 196, Vah.),

Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique,

points to its introduction into the story of Camillus after the date of the Ennian poem; for Ennius would hardly have preferred his enemy to a Roman in telling this detail. The election of Camillus to the dictatorship by the people, and the change in this office during his tenure from that of an extraordinary to an ordinary post, recall the dictatorship of Sulla, marked by similar traits; Valerius Antias very possibly was agent here, as in much pertaining to this legend. With the accusation of

<sup>44</sup> See O. Hirschfeld, *Zur Camillus-Legende*, 1895 (= *Kleine Schriften*, 1913, pp. 273 ff.); Pais, *Storia di Roma* I, 1899, p. 42; Münzer, Pauly-Wissowa, 1910, s. v. *Furius Camillus*, coll. 324 ff.; Täubler, *Klio* XII (1912), *Zur Entstehung der Camilluslegende*, pp. 219 ff.

unfair division of booty taken at Veii we may compare the charge brought against M. Livius Salinator in 219 B. C.; and the report that friends of Camillus wished to redeem the fine levied against him may well be borrowed from the analogous case of Scipio (Livy XXXVIII, 60). The details of his triumph at Veii seem to be inventions of the time of Caesar; the ensuing jealousy of the gods may be a warning devised against the excessive luxury of Caesar's day. None of these and other details can be referred to Ennius or even to Fabius Pictor. Most of them show the influence of late practices, which elaborated the story to a degree which has earned for it Mommsen's description as "die verlogenste aller römischen Legenden."<sup>15</sup>

We may conclude, therefore, with regard to Ennius' methods as annalist, that he told the legends of the Regal period in full detail as legends merely; that for the semi-historical period of the Early Republic he followed the *Annales Maximi* closely, and rejected mere hearsay and family legends; that in his books on the historical period his account was full and accurate. The form of his narrative, however, he modelled upon that of Homer; from this source he reproduced colour and phrases, and occasionally shaped incidents in imitation of Homeric episodes, if this imitation did not lead him too far astray from facts. The detail of the tribune's struggle, described in Book XV, Vah., was drawn, according to Macrobius, from II 102 ff., but Ennius heard of the events of the campaign day by day outside Ambracia, and witnessed many himself; he merely told them in Homeric fashion, did not invent them. We may compare the passage in Macrobius (VI, 2, 32) which relates that Vergil drew his description of Pandarus and Bitias from Ennius' account of the sally of two Istrians from a besieged town (most probably Ambracia).<sup>16</sup> Macrobius did not mention here the Homeric parallel of the two Lapithae, M 131 ff. Moreover, though the fragment of the speech of Appius Claudius

<sup>15</sup> Quoted by Münzer, Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Furius Camillus*, col. 348.

<sup>16</sup> Vahlen, *praef.* ed., p. cxcix.

was compared by Skutsch with the words of Hecuba in  $\Omega$  201 f., it has been shown to rest on an historical basis.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, as a creative poet with a gift for character-drawing and the graphic narrative of active life in peace and war, Ennius probably stamped his own interpretation permanently upon many personalities and events, more especially in recording the history of his own day.

The influence of the *Annales* on later historians, which we now go on to consider, can only, for the most part, be estimated in an indirect manner. With regard to the Regal period, we have already seen that the Ennian account was full; Coelius Antipater, on the other hand, and his successors, were not interested in its legends. The line of annalists from Coelius to Sulla wrote the narrative of their own times, and did not touch that of the early days. The first date we can establish in the work of Claudius Quadrigarius in 390 B. C.; Sisenna had already reached the Marsic War of 90 B. C. in his first book; Licinius Macer, the campaigns of Pyrrhus in his second; Aelius Tubero, the time of Servius Tullius, sixth king, in his first. Valerius Antias remains, and he treated the earliest period in detail; but his stories of Acca Larentia, of Numa, and of Servius are so fantastic and unlike early tradition that he need not be considered here. The influence of Ennius, therefore, in this section, as in that which told the story of the Early Republic, was probably slight.

The third period, however, that of historical times, both Ennius and the annalists who followed him described in full detail; and the conjecture that his work helped in no small measure to shape their narrative in this part is *à priori* very probable. Satisfactory traces of this influence of Ennius, it is true, are hard to find, but one or two may be noted.

<sup>17</sup> On page 37: Tamen is [*sc. Appius Claudius*] . . . non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecutus est Ennius: [a fragment of the speech of Appius (= ll. 202 f., Vah.) follows here], ceteraque gravissime; notum enim nobis carmen est; et tamen ipsius Appi extat oratio. Vahlen, pp. ed. clxxviii and 36.

A whole book (VI, Vah.) was devoted to the short period of the war with Pyrrhus, and the picture of the king is clearly drawn. He is the bold and straightforward enemy, who stands in strong contrast to the perfidious Carthaginian in Book VIII, Frag. 4 (from a description of Hannibal) :

at non sic dubius fuit hostis

Aeacida Burrus.

He glories in the victory of Heraclea ; yet justly owns defeat, as his inscription tells in Book VI, Frag. 11 :

Qui antehac invicti fuere viri, pater optime Olympi,  
Hos ego in pugna vici, victusque sum ab isdem.

His generosity is splendidly shown in the lines (Book VI, Frag. 12) from a vividly dramatic speech which voices his refusal to accept ransom for the captives he freely liberates :

Nec mi aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis :  
Non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes,  
Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique.  
Vosne velit an me regnare era quidve ferat Fors  
Virtute experiamur. et hoc simul accipe dictum :  
Quorum virtuti belli fortuna pepercit,  
Eorundem *libertati me* parcere certum est.  
Dono, ducite, doque volentibus cum magnis dis.

Now Ennius himself had come from the Messapian territory in which Tarentum lay ; and his tribe, the Messapii, had helped Pyrrhus in his expedition.<sup>18</sup> Hence sprang the kindly appreciation and graphic description of his merits, which coloured in general the view of later days, and emphasized the difference of character in the two great enemies of Rome. As is well known, the Roman annalists seldom wasted space to record

<sup>18</sup> Plutarch, Pyrrhus 13 (in the message from the Tarentines to Pyrrhus) : *δυνάμεις δὲ αὐτόθεν ὑπάρξουσι* [i. e., to aid Pyrrhus] *μεγάλαι παρὰ τε Λευκανῶν καὶ Μεσσαπίων καὶ Σαμνιτῶν καὶ Ταραντίνων εἰς διςμυρίους ἰππεῖς*. Cf. 15 (in the account of the storm during which Pyrrhus was cast upon the shore of Italy) : *ἅμα δὲ οἱ τε Μεσσαπιοὶ, καθ' οὓς ἐξεβράσθη, συνέθεον βοηθοῦντες ἐκ τῶν παρόντων προθύμως*.

the good deeds of Rome's enemies. When, therefore, we find that Claudius Quadrigarius told the story of Pyrrhus' release of the prisoners, we may assume that he or his source had drawn upon Ennius here. The statement occurs in Gellius III, 8; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, Cl. Quad. 40: Quadrigarius autem in libro tertio . . . . *Pyrrum* populo Romano laudes atque gratias scripsisse captivosque omnes, quos tum habuit, vestivisse et reddidisse. Cicero certainly received his favourable impression of Pyrrhus from Ennius, for he quoted the *Annales* in his passage on Pyrrhus in the *De Officiis* (I, 12, 38): Poeni foedi fragi, crudelis Hannibal, reliqui iustiores. Pyrrhi quidem de captivis reddendis illa praeclara: [Ennius, *Annales*, Book VI, Frag. 12, quoted above on p. 47, follows here]. Regalis sane et digna Aeacidarum genere sententia. Another passage in the *De Amicitia* (8, 28) expresses similar feeling. Justinus, also, in his epitome of Pompeius Trogus, related (XVIII, 1): Ex ea praeda Pyrrus cc captivos milites gratiis Romam remisit, ut cognita virtute eius Romani cognoscerent etiam liberalitatem; and Livy probably had the story, since Florus (I, 13) and Eutropius (II, 12) show knowledge of it.<sup>19</sup>

If we pass from Ennius' account of his enemy to his account of men of Rome, and of those in especial on whom, as his benefactors, we might expect him to dwell, we find little trace of his influence on these prose annals. Ihne and Lehmann, supported by Vahlen,<sup>20</sup> traced to Ennius the story of the meeting of Hannibal and Scipio before the battle of Zama; but Polybius told the same incident, and it is hardly probable that Polybius used Ennius. Zielinski and Zarncke saw Homeric colour in the Livian description of the battle;<sup>21</sup> no doubt truly, for Roman battles would not actually be fought in Homeric manner

<sup>19</sup> Vahlen, *praef.* ed., p. clxxvii ff. The Greeks, Dionysius and Plutarch, probably drew their material from the *Commentaries* of Pyrrhus himself, which each mentioned in his narrative. Cicero mentioned *Libri Pyrrhi* once (*ad Fam.* IX, 25, 1); but they mattered little to him in comparison with the *Annales* of Ennius.

<sup>20</sup> Der letzte Feldzug des hannibalischen Krieges, Fleckeisen, *Jahrbücher* Supplementband XXI (1894), pp. 569 f.; Vahlen, *praef.* ed., p. xcii, note.

<sup>21</sup> Zarncke, *op. cit.*, pp. 280 f.

at this later date. Very possibly the poetic description which Ennius gave of the crossing of Scipio to Africa influenced the annalists and Livy; <sup>22</sup> the language of Coelius has a poetic tinge: *Quantum militum in Africam [sc. a P. Scipione] transportatum sit, non parvo numero inter auctores discrepat. . . . Coelius ut abstinet numero, ita ad immensum multitudinis speciem auget: volucres ad terram delapsas clamore militum ait, tantamque multitudinem conscendisse naves, ut nemo mortalium aut in Italia aut in Sicilia relinqui videretur.* Yet even here, Coelius, the zealous student of Ennius, differed essentially, as Livy remarked, from many "Greek and Latin authorities."

At times it is possible to prove that the later histories were not in debt to Ennius. Among notable men at Rome, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior were both his friends; <sup>23</sup> but no definite mark of his influence can be pointed out in Livy's narrative of Nasica's conquest of the Boii, in the dispute as to his triumph and in its final celebration (XXXVI, 38 f.). To the deeds of Fulvius in Aetolia Ennius devoted a whole book (XV, Vah.); but there is nothing specially poetical in Livy's story of the conquest of Ambracia (XXXVIII, 4 ff.), which Polybius had also described with similar detail. Another dispute and dull list of spoil follows (Livy XXXIX, 4 f.). <sup>24</sup> Neither is there any trace of Ennian material in later accounts of the two brothers in honour of whom Ennius wrote Book XVI, Vah.; and we have the word of Cicero (*Brutus* 15, 58, 60; Vah. ed. p. 54) that none of the historians recorded the oratorical skill of Cornelius Cethegus, which Ennius saved from oblivion by his praise.

<sup>22</sup> Livy XXIX, 25 ff.; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.*, Coel. Antipater, Fragg. 39 f.; Soltau, *Röm. Geschichtschreibung*, p. 67 f.; Stacey, *Archiv f. lat. Lex.* X, 22 f.

<sup>23</sup> Skutsch, Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v. Ennius*, coll. 2590 f.

<sup>24</sup> Cicero told (*De Prov. Cons.* 9, 20) that Lepidus "annalium litteris et summi poetæ voce laudatus est" because of his reconciliation with his colleague Fulvius Nobilior on their entrance to the censorship in 179 B. C. Vahlen (ed. p. 81) compares with this passage Livy XL, 45 f., where Q. Cæcilius Metellus is represented as persuading reconciliation in a speech.

There is little direct evidence, then, for the influence of Ennius on later annals; yet in calculating it we may recall two facts. On the one hand, we know, from the work itself, in how lively and picturesque a style Ennius recorded events; fragments from speeches, dialogues, vivid descriptions of battles, minute portrayal of character, gathered from personal experience and the testimony of friends, appeared here for the first time in the course of Latin historiography. On the other hand, there is definite proof, in a long line of *testimonia*, that writers from 150 to 60 B. C. were reading Ennius with care.<sup>25</sup> Octavius Lampadio studied the work (Gell. XVIII, 5, 11; Fronto *ad M. Caesarem* I, 7, p. 20, Nab.); Quintus Vargunteius recited it on fixed days to large gatherings (Suet., *De Gramm.* 2); Coelius Antipater diligently strove to imitate it (Fronto *ad M. Caesarem* IV, 3, p. 62, Nab.); and Lucius Aelius Stilo, the grammarian, believed the character described in lines 234-251, Vah., to be that of the author himself. Lucilius compared the work with that of Homer (reading of Marx, ll. 343 ff.):

Illa poesis opus totum (tota[que] Iliás una  
Est, una ut *θεός* annales Enni) atque *opus* unum.

He imitated it, moreover, in details; as did Accius and Hostius, who also borrowed the title *Annales* for their poetry. Porcius Licinius, as Varro told, wrote of Ennius (*De Ling. Lat.* V, 163, G. S.); Antonius Gniphio, according to Buecheler (*Rhein. Mus.* XXXVI (1881), p. 334), wrote a commentary on the *Annales*; Pompilius Andronicus was only induced by dire poverty to sell his epitome of the work. Cicero (*De Orat.* I, 34, 154) represented the orator Crassus as studying the lines of Ennius in the training of his rhetorical art. Lucretius paid it splendid tribute in his first book (ll. 112 ff.);<sup>26</sup> Catullus, though of a newer school which despised archaic poems, yet

<sup>25</sup> For the following, and further, details see Vahlen, *praef.* ed., pp. xxv-lvi; and Skutsch, Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Ennius*, coll. 2613 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. also Pullig, *Ennio quid debuerit Lucretius* I, 1888, mentioned by Skutsch (p. 2615).

drew upon this source.<sup>27</sup> The testimony of Cornelius Nepos is emphatic (*Vita Catonis* I, 4) : ex qua [*sc. Sardinia*] quaestor superiore tempore ex Africa decedens [*sc. Cato*] Q. Ennium poetam deduxerat ; quod non minoris existimamus quam quemlibet amplissimum Sardiniensem triumphum. Varro twice linked the work of Homer and of Ennius (*Sat. Menipp.* 398, Buech. ; *Rerum Rust. Libri* I, 1), and quoted the poetry of Ennius not only in many parts of the *De Lingua Latina*, but also in his *Satires*. Finally, the works of Cicero himself abound in reminiscences of Ennius' writings, both with and without their author's name, and sometimes given in a way which shows that Cicero and his Rome knew their poet well. Thus, he suggests in the *Lucullus* (27, 88 ; Vah. ed. p. 3) : Nisi vero Ennium non putamus ita totum illud audivisse :

O pietas animi . . . .

si modo id somniavit, ut si vigilans audiret ; in the *Orator* (51, 171 ; Vah. ed. p. 39), after quoting line 214 as from Ennius, he adds : Mihi de antiquis eodem modo non licebit [*sc. vetera contemnere*], praesertim cum dicturus non sim : " ante hunc . . . ." ut ille, nec quae sequuntur : " nos ausi reserare . . . ." In his correspondence, he writes to Varro (*ad Fam.* IX, 7, 2 ; Vah. ed. p. 55) : Quid faciam ? tempori serviendum est. Sed ridicula missa, praesertim quum sit nihil quod rideamus :

Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu ;

itaque nullum est ἀποπροηγμένον, quod non verear ; to Atticus (VI, 2, 8 ; Vah. ed. p. 107) : Ain tandem, Attice, laudator integritatis et elegantiae nostrae ?

ausus es hoc ex ore tuo . . . .

inquit Ennius, ut equites Scaptio ad pecuniam cogendam darem, me rogare ?<sup>28</sup>

Our study, then, of the influence of Ennius on later Roman annals has shown that he gave the story of the Kings in full ;

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Fröbel, *Ennio quid debuerit Catullus*, 1910.

<sup>28</sup> See also details in the article of Skutsch, p. 2614 ; and R. Wreschniok, *De Cicerone Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus*, 1907.

that the annalists either neglected or curtailed the narrative of this part. For the period of the Early Republic, on the other hand, the Ennian account was summary; that of the annalists, as is shown by the numerous legends told by Livy, abounded in picturesque detail. In these two sections, therefore, the influence of Ennius was of little account. The influence, on the other hand, of his lively description of historical times might well be expected to appear in the writings of men who desired to add colour to their work; direct evidence of this influence is shown in the favourable estimate, current at a later time among Roman circles, of Pyrrhus, the enemy of Rome; and, we may think, in the details of the elder Scipio's campaigns. This evidence fails, however, for other parts, as the fifteenth and the sixteenth book, of the poet's work, from which no influence on later annalists can be traced. Much of the proof, therefore, of this influence rests upon the indirect evidence given by the attractive character of the poem, shown by the fragments yet extant, and by those readers and writers from Coelius to Cicero who constantly studied its record. The story of the *Annales* remained living in Rome long after the dry statements of Fabius and Cincius were forgotten. It was the *Annales* of Ennius, and not prose annals, that Roman historians of the first century B. C. had studied as boys at school, and were reading as men; and this great national possession, doubtless at first distrusted because of its poetic form, was regarded in their time as the authentic record of Rome's former days. The graphic phrasing in which scenes of war and peace were cast, the vigorous march of the action, the lines which characterized the great men of Rome's history, had slowly steeped the minds of Quadrigarius, Sisenna, and the companions of their group till it was impossible for them to write without betraying in some measure the Ennian and Homeric style. It is this unobtrusive but pervading influence over the writers of the first century, not the creation of new substance, which gives to Ennius his significant place among writers of the history of Rome.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE INFLUENCE OF ENNIUS ON THE CHORUS OF ROMAN TRAGEDY.

Certain of the more definite characteristics of early Roman tragedy have been clearly traced by examination of the tragic fragments, made from time to time since the middle of the last century. The work of Grysar, Jahn, and Ribbeck<sup>1</sup> has proved that the first writers of tragedy in Rome transferred the Chorus, with other parts of the drama, from their Greek models, and that the activity of the Roman Chorus was not confined to the singing of Choral lyrics between the acts. But the part which the Roman Chorus played in speech or song within the action of the drama has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

On this subject two distinct theories have been maintained within more recent years. Capps<sup>2</sup> considers that the history of the Chorus proceeded on very similar lines during the periods of the classical Greek, of the Hellenistic, and of the Roman, drama, and that, so far as we can see, it enjoyed an unbroken prerogative of song and action within the progress of the plot: "I cannot but think that the Roman chorus, which seems hitherto to have been overlooked in interpreting the Greek, furnishes strong grounds for believing that the external characteristics of the Greek tragic chorus, and, to a certain extent, its inner relations to the drama, remained unimpaired from the fifth century down to the first."

On the other hand, Leo sees a decline in the song of the Chorus, beginning in the later plays of Euripides, continued by the school of Agathon and by the Hellenistic writers of

<sup>1</sup> Grysar, Ueber das Canticum und den Chor in der röm. Tragödie, *Sitzungsber. der wien. Akad.* XV (1855), pp. 365 ff.; Jahn, *Hermes* II (1867), pp. 225 ff.; Ribbeck, *Römische Tragödie*, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> The Chorus in the Later Greek Drama, *American Journal of Archaeology* X (1895), pp. 287 ff.

tragedy, and represented for Roman drama in the fragments which we may assign to the Chorus of Ennius. In his view, none of these fragments which truthfully represent the Chorus of their Greek originals is in lyric metre; and he therefore infers that the Chorus in Ennius' tragedies did not sing as a whole, but was represented by the recitative of individual leaders. This diminution of the Choral rôle in song, moreover, is regarded by Leo as a special characteristic of Ennius among Roman playwrights.<sup>3</sup>

In consideration of these conflicting views, and of the fact that our knowledge of Greek drama has been materially increased of late, it seems worth while to re-examine the evidence given by the fragments, lyric and non-lyric, which may reasonably be attributed to the Chorus on the Roman stage.

No trustworthy evidence can be gained from these fragments before the time of Naevius.<sup>4</sup> In his tragedy, the *Lycurgus*,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *De Tragoedia Romana*, 1910. On page 20 he writes (I have added the emphasis): "Testimonia igitur ne de Accio quidem multa sunt, sed satis ut intellegamus choro eum cantica dedisse, non satis ut illum quoque cantica chori in recitationem vertisse constet. quod Pacuvium fecisse vidimus, qui tamen canentes choros induxit. solius igitur Enni tragoediarum reliquiae nullum fere vestigium praebent canticorum chori, sed multa fragmenta sermonum ex canticorum locis tralatorum. ergo hac quoque in re suum ac proprium locum Ennius tenere videtur, ut secundum artem ab Euripide conformatam et post Euripidem continuatam atque exauctam chori partes deminuerit, monodiarum amplificavit, atque ad histrionum quidem cantionem quod attinet, Pacuvius et Accius ab Enni ratione quae etiam Livi Andronici fuit non deflexisse videntur, in choricis transferendis artius rursus ad exemplaria attica sese applicuisse." These remarks do not apply to the action of the Roman Chorus within the plot, which Leo naturally recognizes. Cf. *Plautinische Forschungen*<sup>2</sup>, 1912, p. 96; *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache*<sup>3</sup>, 1912, p. 416; *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* I, 1913, pp. 193 f.

<sup>4</sup> The disputed question as to the work of Livius Andronicus rests on the following evidence:

1. Terentianus Maurus 1931 (*G. L. K.* VI, p. 383):

Livius ille vetus Graio cognomine suae  
inserit Inoni versus, puto, tale docimen:  
praemisso heroo subiungit namque miuron,  
hymnum quando chorus festo canit ore Triviae,  
"et iam purpureo suras include cothurno,  
balteus et revocet volucres in pectore sinus,  
pressaue iam gravis crepitent tibi terga pharetra:  
derige odorisequos ad certa cubilia canes."

news is brought to the Edonian king that a company of Bacchic Maenads have invaded his territory (Fragg. I; II; III R.), and he sends his men forthwith to pursue and capture the intruders (Fragg. V; VII R.).

The Chorus of Bacchants enters the stage; its leader invites them to the dance:

pergite,  
Thýrsigerae Bacchae, modo,  
Bacchico cum schemate.

This, in Bacchiac metre, is the reading of Leo (*De Trag. Rom.*, p. 13), and follows the MS. Other authorities scan differently. Lindsay (ed. Nonius, 1903, p. 333) gives:

pérgite,  
Thýrsigeraé Bacchaé modo, Bâcchicó cum schémate,

2. Marius Victorinus (*G. L. K.* VI, p. 68): at cum Livius Andronicus praemisso hexametro huius modi subnectat versus per ordinem iambo terminatos, novam potius hanc speciem quam miuron existimant versum et teliambon appellant. Nam in hymno Dianae apud eundem ita inveniuntur in fabula Inone (*e. q. s.*). On this we note (see authorities mentioned below):

a. This metre and this style are unsuited to the immature stage of Latin literature to which Livius belonged.

b. Laevius wrote an *Ino*, from which Priscian quoted two choliambic lines (VI, *G. L. K.* II, p. 281, where see note; cf. Festus, ed. Lind., p. 334).

c. It is therefore possible that the lines quoted by Terentianus Maurus came from a polymetrical poem of Laevius, that the names were changed by the mistake of some copyist, and that *Andronicus* was added later as a gloss. The interchange of *Livius* and *Laevius* in MS. is known. Cf. *G. L. K.* II, p. 281, where some MSS. give *Livius*.

d. In any case, the lines come from a "hymn to Diana," and tell nothing of any participation in the plot on the part of the Chorus. The hymn might well have been sung between the acts.

The consensus of opinion is against the authorship of Livius. See Klussmann, *Livii Andronici Dramatum Reliquiae*, 1849, pp. 19 ff., and cf. Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, p. 34; L. Havet, *Laeviana*, *Revue de Philologie* XV (1891), pp. 10 f.; H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Études sur l'ancienne poésie latine*, 1903, pp. 175 f.; 273 ff.

e. The anapaestic lyric *ex incertis fabulis Livii*, Frag. III Ribb., may well belong to a *canticum* sung by some actor, not by the Chorus. It shows nothing for the part played by the Chorus in the action.

f. Ribbeck reasonably suggests that the lyric fragment of the *Equos Troianus* (*Rom. Sc. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 3; *Röm. Trag.*, p. 27) belongs to a *canticum* in which Cassandra appeals to Apollo to rescue her fatherland.

<sup>3</sup> Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, pp. 55 ff.

which also follows the MS., and belongs to a passage in trochaic septenarii. Ribbeck (*Sc. Rom. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 12, Frag. IX) scans as iambic trimeter, but changes the reading:

pérgite,  
Tyrsígerae Bacchae, Bácschico cum scémate.<sup>6</sup>

The next line in question occurs in three places, but the reading is doubtful. The different versions are:

1. Nonius: ed. Lind., p. 778:

Ignótei íteri' súmu'; túte scís? [Bacchiacs];

ed. Mü. VIII, p. 107:

Ígnotis iterís sumu'; tute scís?  
[Codd. ignoti.]

2. Priscian VI, *G. L. K.* II, p. 229:

Ignoti iteris sumus, tute scis.  
[Codd. ignoti.]

3. Nonius: ed. Lind., p. 180:

Ignótæ íteri' súmu'; túte scís. [Bacchiacs];

ed. Mü. II, p. 178:

Ígnoteis iterís sumu'; tute scís?<sup>7</sup>  
[Codd. ignotæ.]

On the strength of this reading *ignotæ*, the fragment has been generally ascribed to the Chorus, whose leader is represented as innocently inquiring the way from one of the royal police. Lindsay in the *Classical Review* (XVI (1902), p. 48),

<sup>6</sup> L. Müller (*Cn. Naevi Fab. Reliquiae*, 1885, p. 10) writes, also in iambic trimeter:

pérgite,  
Thyrsígerae Bacchae cómmo cum schémate.

Klussmann (ed. Naevius, 1843, pp. 122 f.) reads anapaestic measure here in following Bergk's conjecture (*Rhein. Mus.* III (1835), p. 75) *Bacchiaco* for the MS. *Bacchico*; but the adjective *bacchiacus* is only used by grammarians in describing Bacchiac metre. See Thesaurus s. v.

<sup>7</sup> This reading is found also in Müller's edition of Naevius, 1885, p. 10. In all cases, therefore, he scans as part of a trochaic line. Klussmann (p. 123) writes as iambic trimeter:

. . . ignóti iteris sumus, túte scis.

held *ignotci* to be the correct reading of Nonius. The reading *ignoti* may reasonably be considered the correct one, and the words may well belong to a *canticum* sung by an actor, possibly by one of the king's police during the search for the Bacchantes. Ribbeck (*Sc. Rom. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 12, Frag. X) scans iambic trimeter with change of reading:

Ignótæ <hic> iteris súmus: <si> tute scís?

At length all are captured, and dread the wrath of Lycurgus:

Ut ín venatu vítulantis éx suis

Locís nos mittant poénis decoratás feris.

Lindsay (ed. Nonius, p. 21) and Ribbeck (*Sc. Rom. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 12, Frag. VIII) both record this reading in iambic trimeter.<sup>8</sup>

The guards bring the Bacchantes before the king, and one of these men reports upon the dress and surroundings of their captives at the time of discovery (Fragg. XVII; XVIII R.):

Frag. XVII: Námque ludere út laetantis ínter sese vídimus  
Própter amnem, aquám creterris súmere ex  
fonte.

Frag. XVIII: Pállis patagiís crocotis málacis mortuálibus.

Lycurgus brutally orders that they be deprived of their tongues, and cast, bound hand and foot, into prison. They are led away (Frag. VI R.):

dúcite

Eó cum argutis línguis mutas quádrupedis.

With this ends the evidence from fragments with regard to the Chorus in the drama of Naevius.<sup>9</sup> We may summarize it thus:

1. One, Frag. VIII R., is definitely written in iambic trimeter.
2. The other two, Fragg. IX; X R., are probably to be read in lyric metre; yet Ribbeck reads both in iambic trimeter.

<sup>8</sup> L. Müller (ed. Naevius, p. 10) gives a slightly different reading, but also in iambic trimeter.

<sup>9</sup> Other fragments in lyric metre from Naevius' work—*Danae* IV; VI; *Inc. Nom.* I; X—cannot be assigned to a Chorus.

3. One of these fragments, Frag. X R., may reasonably be referred to a *canticum*, and not to Choral lyric.

The only sure fact, therefore, which we can ascertain is that Naevius gave iambic trimeter to his Chorus.

We may turn now to Ennius himself. In his *Iphigenia* the warriors of the Chorus express their discontent in trochaic septenarii, according to all readings (Frag. XI Vah. (III R.)) :

ótió qui néscit uti

Plús negoti habét quam cum ést negótium in negótio.

Nám cui quod agat ínstitutumst nón ullo negótio

Íd agit, *id* studét, ibi mentem atque ánimum delectát suum.

Ótioso in ótio animus néscit quid velit.

Hóc idem est : em néque domi nunc nós *nec* militiáe sumus :

Ímus huc, hinc ílluc, cum illuc véntum est, ire illúc lubet.

Íncerte errat ánimus, praeter própter vitam vívitur.<sup>10</sup>

In the *Medea Exul* the women of Medea declare in the same metre their horror at the impending murder of the children at their mother's hand (Frag. XVI Vah. (XIV R.)) :

Iúppiter tuque ádeo, summe Sól, qui res omnis spicis,

Quíque tuo *cum* lúmine mare térram caelum cóntines,

Íspice hoc facínus, prius quam fiat, prohibessís scelus.<sup>11</sup>

The original of this is the Choral song in lyric metre of Euripides, *Medea*, 1251 ff.

These two fragments are the only certain ones extant which show non-lyric metre given by Ennius to a Chorus in his plays. A fragment (*Inc. Inc. Fab.*, Frag. LXXI R.)—a trochaic septenarius :

Érebo <pro>creáta fuscis crínibus Nox, te ínvoco

<sup>10</sup> So Vahlen's reading. Those of Ribbeck and of L. Müller (*Q. Enni Carminum Reliquiae*, 1884, p. 95) differ, but give the same metre.

<sup>11</sup> Vahlen, Ribbeck, and L. Müller (ed. Enn., p. 118) all give trochaic septenarius.

though quoted without name of author or play, was compared by Ribbeck with the lyric song of the Chorus in Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 321 ff:<sup>12</sup>

μᾶτερ, ᾧ μ' ἔτικτες, ὦ μᾶτερ  
Νύξ, ἀλαοῖσι καὶ δεδορκόσιν  
ποινάν, κλῦθι

and 884 f.:

θυμὸν ἄϊε, μᾶτερ  
Νύξ.

Ennius is the only Roman poet to whom we can assign a play of this name; but neither Vahlen nor Ribbeck ventures to include the line among his works.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, the fragments give evidence that the Chorus sang. The line (*Medea Exul*, Frag. XII Vah. (XVI R.)),

Útinam ne umquam Méde Colchis cúpido corde pédem  
extulisses [*v. l.* extetulisses],

is in lyric metre, whether trochaic or anapaestic. Vahlen and Ribbeck write a trochaic octonarius; Buecheler, followed by L. Müller (*Q. Enni Car. Reliquiae*, 1885, *Medea Exul*, Frag. VIII) reads *extetulisses*; both scan the line as anapaestic.<sup>14</sup> It is compared by Ribbeck<sup>15</sup> with Euripides, *Medea* 431 f.:

σὺ δ' ἐκ μὲν οἴκων πατρίων ἔπλευσας  
μαινομένα κραδίᾳ.

<sup>12</sup> *Röm. Tragödie*, pp. 146 f.

<sup>13</sup> Ribbeck, in *Sc. Rom. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 52, *Medea Exul*, Frag. XIV Vah. (IV R.), quoted by Nonius, reads *fluctus* <*Junius in mg*>, and compares Eur., *Medea* 131 ff. (lyric metre of Chorus). If this comparison might stand, the Chorus in Ennius would seem to be represented by iambic trimeter, as contrasted with lyric in the Greek; but the reading is doubtful. Both Vahlen and Lindsay (ed. Nonius, p. 748) retain the MS. *fructus*, and Vahlen (ed. p. 170) compares the words of Medea in Euripides' play, 772 f. (iambic trimeter).

<sup>14</sup> So Müller (Nonius, p. 469) and Lindsay (Nonius, p. 461), both reading *extetulisses*.

Útinám ne umquam, Medé, cordis †  
Cupido corde pedem extetulisses!

Müller recognizes the possibility of reading a trochaic octonarius.

<sup>15</sup> *Sc. Rom. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 56.

In both cases the Chorus is mourning the fact that Medea ever left her home.<sup>16</sup>

In the *Thyestes* there is little doubt that the friends of the unfortunate son formed the Chorus,<sup>17</sup> and joined in a song in Bacchiac metre. Fragment VIII Vah. (VIII R.) runs:

Thyestes

Nolíte, hospités, ad me adíre, ilico ístic,  
Ne cóntagió mea bonís umbrave óbsit.  
Tánta vis scéleris in córpore haeret.

[Chorus]

Quidnam ést obsecró quod te adíri abnutas?

The Bacchiac metre is given by Vahlen, Ribbeck and L. Müller (*Enni Car. Rell., Thyestes*, Frag. X).<sup>18</sup>

There are, then, two cases of lyric metre to be assigned to the Chorus, for one of which we find corresponding lyric in the Greek, while for the other no parallel case can be adduced. On the other hand, there are two certain cases, and one uncertain case, in which Ennius may be held to have substituted for the song of the Chorus in Greek tragedy a recitative of its leader in his Latin adaptation.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Leo (*De Trag. Rom.*, p. 15) remarks that this may be sung by the leader of the Chorus, but does not correspond to the Choral song in Euripides. Yet there is no reason why it should not be assigned to the united song of a Roman Chorus.

<sup>17</sup> Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, p. 202.

<sup>18</sup> Here again it does not seem necessary to think with Leo that the Bacchiac metre of the last line may be explained by the preceding Bacchiacs. If it does not come from a pure Choral song (*De Rom. Trag.*, p. 16), it comes from a song in which both Chorus and actor took part. Vahlen gives the last line to "*unus hospitum*," Ribbeck to "*alius*," Müller to "*alia persona*," but the singular number is used in the Choruses of Euripides.

<sup>19</sup> The *Sabinae* of Ennius formed the Chorus of his *praetexta*; and the one fragment extant is certainly to be assigned to them, or to Hersilia, speaking for them as their leader. The reading is not certain. Vahlen suggested a trochiac octonarius in *Rhein. Mus.* XVI (1861), p. 580; for conjectures forming iambic trimeter see Ribbeck, *Sc. Rom. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 324; Vahlen, ed. (1903) p. 190, note.

The next question is that of the degree in which Ennius allowed the members of his Chorus to interest themselves in the progress of the action.<sup>20</sup>

1. In the *Achilles* the Chorus must have been composed of Greek soldiers, the *λέως*, who would be closely in touch with the action. What body of folk, if not the Chorus, could have been ordered by the *praeco* to keep silence in Fragment I Vah.?<sup>21</sup> This fragment does not belong, apparently, to the prologue, as in the *Poenulus* of Plautus, where it is quoted (Vah. ed. p. 118).

2. By substituting in the *Iphigenia* a band of warriors for the young girls of the original, Ennius brought his Chorus into far greater harmony with the plot.<sup>22</sup> These soldiers emphasize that strife of parties which is going on in the Greek camp; their introduction strengthens the effect produced by the threats of Calchas and Odysseus, and forms a powerful factor in the overwhelming force which crushed the feeble resistance of Agamemnon, the appeals of Clytemnestra, and the protesting innocence of Iphigenia.<sup>23</sup>

3. In the *Medea*, the unhappy woman herself addresses the women of the Chorus (Frag. IV Vah. (V R.)), who in their turn address her in Fragment XII Vah. (XVI R.), and the Choral fragment XVI Vah. (XIV R.) is intimately connected with the action.

4. In the *Eumenides*, editors believe that Ennius was following Aeschylus; and therefore we may hold that the goddesses formed the Chorus, and were directed to bless Athens in the fragment (VII Vah.) spoken by Minerva.<sup>24</sup> There is an indi-

<sup>20</sup> See on this activity of the Chorus within the plot for Ennius, as well as for Pacuvius and Accius, the literature cited in note 1.

<sup>21</sup> Ribbeck, *Achilles Aristarchi*, Frag. I.

<sup>22</sup> As has been pointed out again and again, Ennius may possibly have borrowed this motive from Sophocles; the *contaminatio* in that case would be his own idea.

<sup>23</sup> Capps, *Amer. Journ. Arch.* X (1895), p. 298; Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, p. 96; Michaut, *Le Génie latin*, 1900, p. 183.

<sup>24</sup> Ribbeck (*Sc. Rom. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 294) includes this among the fragments *ex inc. inc. fabulis*, but remarks "Manifesto ad Ennii Eumenides pertinent translata ex Aesch. 903 ff."

cation, also (Frag. V Vah. (IV R.)), of a second Chorus of Areopagites who formed the jury at the trial, and are here addressed by Minerva (cf. *Eumenides*, Frag. VI Vah. (*Incerta Enni*, Frag. XVIII R.)).<sup>25</sup>

5. In the *Hectoris Lytra*, Priam appeals to the Myrmidons who no doubt formed the Chorus (Frag. XVII Vah. (XIV R.)). Possibly also in this play a secondary Chorus of Nereids is active in bringing the armour from Thetis to her son, if Ennius made here a *contaminatio* of the trilogy of Aeschylus.<sup>26</sup>

6. In the *Hecuba*, the old queen addresses the Chorus (Frag. IV Vah. (V R.)). Vahlen compares a passage from her lament to the Trojan women in Euripides' play, after the sacrifice of Polyxena (165 ff.).

7. In the play bearing his name, Phoenix discusses his father's suspicion and angry accusation of him with his friends, who formed the Chorus. So Fragment VIII Vah. leads us to infer<sup>27</sup> (cf. Ribbeck, *Sc. Rom. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, *Inc. Inc. Fab.*, Frag. CXVII). The blinding of his son by Amyntor was part of the story in Apollodorus III, 13, 8. Phoenix is expecting from his friends the same courage that he himself shows in his trouble, and does not yield to the sympathy which they show (as in Frag. V Vah. R.). Likewise in the *Telamo*, Teucer may be addressing a Chorus of his friends in Fragments VII; VIII Vah. (VI; VII R.). Thyestes, also, in his play, is in evident sympathy with his companions.

We find, therefore, in the fragments of seven plays, indication of relationship between Chorus and action: in two, *Medea*

<sup>25</sup> Capps states (p. 298) that the *Alexander* of Ennius had a second Chorus of shepherds. The extant fragments do not appear to show this, though it is probable, if Ennius followed his original closely.

<sup>26</sup> Vahlen, ed. p. ccvi. Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, p. 356 (of the *Epinausimache* of Accius): "Den Chor der Nereustöchter, welche die Waffen des Hephästos bringen, eine echt Aeschyleische, vermuthlich bereits von Ennius in *Hectoris Lytra* verwerthete Erfindung, scheint unser Dichter aufgegeben und den vollen Ton auf die Kriegsthaten des Helden gelegt zu haben."

<sup>27</sup> Ribbeck returns on account of the dactyl in *futtile amici* to *animi* in *Sc. Rom. Tr.*<sup>3</sup>, Phoenix, Frag. VII, though he read *amici* in *Röm. Trag.*, p. 195. Lindsay (Nonius, p. 827) reads *amici* in a trochaic octonarius; Vahlen reads *futtile amici*, and defends the dactyl (ed. p. 176).

*Exul* and *Phoenix*, there are traces of intimate relationship between the Chorus and the principal actor ; in two, *Eumenides* and *Hectoris Lytra*, the goddesses, jurymen, or Myrmidonian warriors are all brought into close connection with the plot ; while in the *Iphigenia* Ennius actually changed the personnel of the Chorus in his original in a way which furthered this aim.

It will be of interest now to consider how the immediate successors of Ennius treated the Chorus.

**Pacuvius.** In the *Antiope*, the *astici* of Thebes formed the chief Chorus, as they did in Euripides.<sup>28</sup> Amphio proposes a riddle to them, and is answered probably by their leader ; the metre is the iambic trimeter of dialogue (Frag. IV R.) :

Amphio

Quadrupés tardigrada agréstis humilis áspera,  
Brevi cápíte, cervice ánguina, aspectú truci,  
Eviscerata inánima cum animalí sono.

Astici

Ita saéptuosa díctione abs té datur  
Quod cóniectura sápiens aegre cóntuit :  
Non íntellegimus, nísi si aperte díxeris.

Amphio

Testúdo.

Ribbeck suggests that Amphio may have given these old men an exhibition of his skill on the lyre.<sup>29</sup> Fragment IV R. from the *Incerta* of Pacuvius may be attributed to the Maenads who formed the secondary Chorus of this play ; they sing their hate in anapaestic lyric as Dirce leads them to the capture of *Antiope* :

Agite íte, evolvite rápite, coma  
Tractáte per aspera sáxa et humura,  
Scindíte vestem ocius !

<sup>28</sup> Schol. Euripides, *Hipp.* 58: ἐν τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ δύο χοροὺς εἰσάγει, τὸν τε τῶν Θεβαίων γερόντων (quoted in *Röm. Trag.*, p. 285).

<sup>29</sup> *Röm. Trag.*, p. 292.

In the *Dulorestes* (Frag. XXVIII R.), Electra expresses her gratitude to her friends; no doubt these were young girls forming the Chorus of the play, as in the *Choephori* of Aeschylus and the *Electra* of Sophocles. But no fragment can be assigned to them.

The Chorus of the *Niptra* is formed of the servants of Ulysses, who sing with him in anapaestic metre as they enter, bearing the wounded man forth from the struggle with Telegonus (Frag. IX R.):

Ulixes

Pedetéptim ac sedató nisu,  
Ne súccussu arripiát maior  
Dolor

. . . . .

Chorus

Tu quóque Ulixes, quamquám graviter  
Cernímus ictum, nimis paéne animo es  
Molí, qui consuetús in armis  
Aevom ágere

. . . . .

Ulixes

Retinéte, tenete! opprímit ulcus:  
Nudáte! heu mé miserum, éxcrucior!  
Operíte: abscedite iám iam.  
Mittíte: nam attrectatu ét quassu  
saevum ámplificatis dolórem.

In the *Periboea*, a Chorus of Bacchantes celebrates the festival of their god in anapaestic lyric (Fragg. XXVII; XXVIII R.):

Frag. XXVII: . . . scrupea saxéa Bacchi  
Templá prope adgreditur.

Frag. XXVIII: . . . tiasantém fremitu  
Concíte melum!

Their part is entirely in harmony with the whole, because Diomedes plans to take advantage of this time of holiday to carry out his attack upon the usurper Agrius.

In the *Teucer*, the friends of the hero Teucer, probably the Chorus, seek to conciliate the angry Telamo, and tell their story in iambic octonarii (Frag. VIII R.) :

Nos illum interea próliciendo própitiaturós facul  
Remúr.

**Accius.** The Chorus of the *Antigona* was formed, apparently, of watchmen. Two fragments from a song are extant (Fragg. III; IV R.) :

Frag. III: Attát, nisi me fallít in obitu  
Sonitús

Frag. IV: Heús, vigiles, properáte, expergite  
Péctora tarda sopóre, exsurgite!

Accius, then, either substituted these watchmen for the Theban elders of Sophocles as Capps states,<sup>30</sup> or they formed a second Chorus.

In the *Armorum Iudicium*, Fragment IV R. appears to come from the song of the Chorus. In the *Ajax* of Sophocles (609 ff.), the Chorus mourns in lyric the fate of its hero :<sup>31</sup>

καί μοι δυσθεράπευτος Αἴας  
ξύνεστιν ἔφεδρος, ὥμοι μοι,  
θεία μανία ξύναυλος·  
ὄν ἐξεπέμψω πρὶν δῆ ποτε Θουρίῳ  
κρατοῦντ' ἐν Ἄρει.

So in the song from the Latin version, of which only one line remains, an iambic octonarius :

In quó salutis spés supremas síbi habet summa exérciti.

<sup>30</sup> *Amer. Journ. Arch.* X (1895), p. 298. *Antiope* is a misprint for *Antigona*.

<sup>31</sup> *Röm. Trag.*, p. 373.

In the *Atreus*, the Chorus expresses on the stage its apprehension in a song, while the gruesome feast is progressing within. The rolling of thunder tells the horror of the deed (Frag. XIII R.):<sup>32</sup>

Sed quíd tonitru turbída torvo  
Concússa repente aequóra caeli  
Sensímus sonere?

The *Bacchae* gives sure evidence of Choral lyric in anapaestic and cretic metre (Fragg. III-VI R.):

Frag. III: (a reference to the song of the Bacchantes),

. . . . . aéricrepitantes melos

Frag. IV: Ágite modicó gradu! iácite thyrsós levis!

Frag. V: O Díonyse, óptime  
Patér, vitisator, Sémela genitus, eúhie!

Frag. VI: . . . Ubi sanctús Cithaeron  
Fron dét viridantibus fétis.

The Bacchantes of the Chorus sing in the play of Euripides (152 ff.; 862 ff.; 977 ff.).<sup>33</sup>

The Chorus in the *Medea* is formed of herdsmen dwelling in a little island near the mouth of the Ister. They are terrified by the arrival of Jason and Medea with their company, who land here, seeking refuge from Apsyrtus and the Colchians (Fragg. I-III R., in iambic senarii). One of these shepherds declares in a trochaic septenarius his intention of climbing a tree to gain a safer view of the approaching strangers (Frag. IV R.).<sup>34</sup> At the end of the play, the old Aeetes mourns over the body of his son, and the Chorus in anapaestic measure seeks to comfort him (Frag. XVII R.):<sup>35</sup>

Fors dómínatur neque víta ulli  
Propria ín víta est.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 454. It is also possible, as Ribbeck suggests, that in Frag. XVIII R. Atreus, enraged at the curse uttered by Thyestes against himself and his race, commands the Chorus to seize his brother (p. 455).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 570.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 532.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 534 f.

In the *Philocteta*, Accius had the choice of three models, one by each of the great Greek tragic poets. Ribbeck considers that he probably used them all, but chose to follow Euripides most closely. Natives of Lemnos formed the Choruses of Aeschylus and Euripides; but, since the Chorus in the Latin displays so much knowledge of Ulysses, no doubt Accius followed Sophocles in this detail, though with distinct changes.<sup>36</sup> For in the Greek play the sailors of the Chorus belong to the ship of Neoptolemus;<sup>37</sup> here they sing a lyric in anapaests in honour of their master Ulysses, and he answers in the same metre (Fragg. I; II R.) :

Frag. I:    Inclúte, parva prodíte patria,  
               Nomíne celebri claróque potens  
               Pectóre, Achivis classíbus ductor,  
               Gravis Dárdaniis gentíbus ultor,  
               Laértiade!

Frag. II:    . . . . Lemnía praesto  
               Litóra rara, et celsá Cabirum  
               Delúbra tenes, mystéria quae  
               Pristína castis concépta sacris  
               . . . . .  
               Volcánia <iam> templá sub ipsis  
               Collíbus, in quos delátus locos  
               Dicítur alto ab limíne caeli  
               . . . . .  
               Nemus éspirante vapóre vides,  
               Unde ígnis cluet mortálibus clam  
               Divísus: eum dictús Prometheus  
               Clepsísse dolo poenásque Iovi  
                   Fato éxpendisse suprémo.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 378 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Soph., *Philoctetes* 1072:

Χο. ὅδ' ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ναυκράτωρ ὁ παῖς.

Cf. Jebb, ed. *Philoctetes*, p. 31, note.

The Argonauts seem to form the Chorus of the *Phinidae*, and to sing a lyric after they land upon the coast of Salmydessus in Thrace (Fragg. I; II R.):

Frag. I:   Hac úbi curvo litóre latratu  
            Undá sub undis labúnda sonit

Frag. II:   Simul ét circum magná sonantibus  
            Excíta saxis suavísona echo  
            Crepitú clangente cachínnat.

Jason gives them directions (Frag. III R.); they are to move quietly, as he fears the presence of unfriendly folk (cf. Frag. IV R.).<sup>38</sup>

The *Phoenissae* shows by its title that the Chorus was composed of Phoenician girls as in Euripides. Ribbeck points out that their presence in the Greek drama is purely accidental, and that they have no connection with the myth. They tarry on their way from Tyre to Delphi, in the city of Thebes, connected by kinship with their race; and the siege unexpectedly delays them there. No doubt they sang in lyric melody during the play of Accius; and the fact that he took over this Chorus is significant for the history of Roman tragedy at this time.<sup>39</sup>

In the *Telephus*, the Myrmidons of Achilles apparently played as Chorus; they express their weariness at the long waiting in Argos by a Choral song (Frag. II R.):<sup>40</sup>

Iam iám stupido Thessála somno  
            Pectóra languentque senéntque.

Fragment IX R. from the *Tereus*, an iambic octonarius, may express the determination of the leader of the Chorus to rescue, if possible, the little Itys from his mother's hideous purpose of revenge.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Röm. Trag.*, p. 541.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 478: "Aus der Aufnahme gerade dieses Chors, der weder mit der Sage zusammenhängt noch in die Handlung eingreift, lässt sich erkennen, dass dieses lyrische Element auch der römischen Tragödie unentbehrlich war."

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 582.

The evidence, therefore, shows for Pacuvius and Accius a connection between Chorus and plot in twelve plays. In six of these, the *Niptra* and *Teucer* of Pacuvius, the *Antigona*, *Armorum Judicium*, *Atreus*, and *Medea* of Accius, this connection is intimate; and the desire to bring the Chorus into union with the action, if the view of Capps is correct, even caused the change from Theban elders to watchmen for the Chorus of the *Antigona* of Accius.

A summary of the metrical evidence shows the following:

	<i>Lyric Metre</i>	<i>Trochaic Septenarii</i> (i. e., recitative)	<i>Iambic Trimeter</i> (i. e., dialogue as in Greek plays)
LIVIVS	ANDRONICUS: No trustworthy evidence.		
NAEVIUS:	Lycurgus?	Lycurgus?	Lycurgus
ENNIUS:	{ Medea* <sup>42</sup> Thyestes	Certain: { Iphigenia Medea* Uncertain: Eumenides* (only one line)	{ Greek corresponding verse is lyrical.
PACUVIUS:	{ Antiopa, Chorus 2 ( <i>Thiasos</i> ) Niptra Periboea Teucer		Antiopa, Chorus 1 ( <i>Astici</i> )
ACCIUS:	{ Antigona Armorum Judicium* Atreus Bacchae* Medea Philocteta* Phinidae Telephus	Medea (only one line)	Medea

It seems, then, that there is not sufficient evidence for accepting the theory of Leo that Ennius was substituting the recita-

<sup>42</sup> In cases marked \* a correspondence may be traced with the Greek.

tive of the leader of the Chorus for the lyric song of the whole band. The leader of the Chorus speaks in iambic trimeter in Naevius. It would rather appear that in the tragedies of Ennius a reaction from Hellenistic tradition, which may already have been present to some extent in those of Naevius, was developed upon the Roman stage; and that he is to be regarded, not as the heir of the tendency to suppress the Chorus, but rather as the most important and influential agent in a movement towards its restoration to the rôle in song and action which it played in the drama of the fifth century. In Ennius, who presents among the extant fragments two (certain) cases of representation of Chorus by lyric and non-lyric metre respectively, we see evidence of the reaction. In Pacuvius and in Accius this development seems to have progressed until the Roman Chorus, in its song (even though this did not literally reproduce the complicated strophic responsion of the Greek original) and in its participation in the life of the plot, fulfilled to all intents and purposes the same function as its forerunner in the classic drama of Greece.

This position of Ennius among Roman playwrights, and the contribution made by him to Roman drama, will be more readily appreciated if we review the evidence for the Chorus in tragedy from the time of Euripides onwards. The passage dealing with this in the *Poetics* of Aristotle (18, 1456<sup>a</sup>, 25) is usually understood as referring to a diminution of its rôle: καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἓνα δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ μῦθον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι μὴ ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδῃ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλεῖ. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ ἀδόμενα <οὐδὲν> μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου ἢ ἄλλης τραγῳδίας ἐστίν· διὸ ἐμβόλιμα ᾄδουσιν πρῶτον ἄρξαντος Ἀγαθῶνος τοῦ τοιούτου. καίτοι τί διαφέρει ἢ ἐμβόλιμα ᾄδειν ἢ εἰ ῥῆσιν ἐξ ἄλλου εἰς ἄλλο ἀρμόττοι ἢ ἐπεισόδιον ὅλον; Capps, dissenting from Leo and other authorities, thinks that Aristotle here states the manner in which Sophocles and Euripides connected their Choruses with the plot, not that Euripides neglected this union: "The choruses of Sophocles, as a rule, have a deeper sympathy with the actors, a more intimate connection with the plot, than those

of Euripides, although those of the latter move about more freely and come into closer personal contact with the actors than those of the former. This is a distinction that has been generally overlooked by interpreters of Aristotle."<sup>43</sup> But Aristotle goes on to blame the successors of Euripides and Sophocles, beginning with Agathon, for making their melic verses mere ἐμβόλιμα; and here again Capps thinks that he was criticizing the method of connecting the Chorus with the play, that even though they sang ἐμβόλιμα between the acts, there is no evidence to prove that they took no part in the action. On the other hand, there is little evidence to prove that they did take part in the action in the post-Euripidean plays. The *Rhesus* is mentioned as showing that the tragic drama of the fourth century possessed a Chorus in sympathy with the actors;<sup>44</sup> but the date of the play is not certain.<sup>45</sup> In comedy the fragments of the Μέσση and of the Νέα, composed in the fourth and the early part of the third century, show only a slight connection between Chorus and plot at this time. The Chorus in these plays seems regularly to consist of a κῶμος of drunken youths, whose office it is to give a performance between the acts. For Middle Comedy, Leo pointed out a case in the *Kouphis* of Alexis (Frag. 107 K. (III, 428 Mein.)).<sup>46</sup> The Chorus is here announced by one of the actors. In the fragments from the New Comedy, the mark Χοροῦ occurs six times, three of which may be considered as of importance for our problem:<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Amer. Journ. Arch.* X (1895), p. 291.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295 f.

<sup>45</sup> W. H. Porter (The Euripidean *Rhesus* in the Light of Recent Criticism, *Hermathena* XXXIX (1913), pp. 348 ff.), after a study of the arguments of Wilamowitz, Hagenbach, and Rolfe in favour of assigning the play to the fourth century, defends the "orthodox position that the *Rhesus* was composed by Euripides in the dawn of his genius"; cf. Gilbert Murray, introduction to *The Rhesus of Euripides*, 1913.

<sup>46</sup> ΧΟΡΟΙ, *Hermes* XLIII (1908), pp. 308 ff.

<sup>47</sup> See Körte, ΧΟΡΟΙ, *Hermes* XLIII (1908), pp. 299 ff., and *Menandrea*, 1910; Capps, *Four Plays of Menander*, 1910; Flickinger, *Classical Philology* VII (1912), pp. 24 ff.; Skutsch, *Hermes* XLVII (1912), pp. 141 ff.

1. In the *Epitrepontes* of Menander, the young man Charisius is spending his time in dissipation, that he may forget his grief at the discovery that his wife, Pamphila, was seduced by some unknown man before her marriage. One of the actors, Onesimus, slave of Charisius, announces the arrival of a band of youths, who come on his master's invitation to feast and revel at a banquet. Here occurs the mark Χοροῦ, at the end of the second act (l. 201 K.). This κῶμος gives a performance, and then retires into the house of Chaerestratus, in which Charisius is now living. At the beginning of the next act the girl, Habrotonon, comes out of the house, and is molested at the door by some young men, no doubt the same Chorus (ll. 213-214 K.).

2. The second case occurs in the Petersburg (Jernstedt) fragment, which is also assigned by Capps to the *Epitrepontes*.<sup>48</sup> The Chorus, in his view, is composed of the same guests of Charisius, who come out from the banquet in a state of drunkenness, and give another performance after Act III. Flickinger,<sup>49</sup> with greater probability, imagines these youths to be a chance band who come down the street with boisterous revelry at this convenient stage of the play. Their arrival is announced as in other cases (text of Körte, p. 211; cf. Capps, p. 98 f.):

Γ. (Onesimus (C.).)

τῇν σ]ῆν γ'. ἴωμεν δεῦρο πρὸς Χαρίσιον.

Β. (Chaerestratus (C.).)

ἴωμ]εν, ὡς καὶ μαιρακυλλίων ὄχλος  
εἰς τ]ὸν τόπον τις ἔρχεθ' ὑποβεβρεγμένων,  
οἷς]μὴ ῥοχλεῖν εὐκαιρον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ.

Χοροῦ.

3. In the *Perikciromene* of Menander, the young lover Polemon, after shearing the hair of Glycera in a fit of jealous passion, retreats to the country and tries to forget his grief in revel. A band of his companions who form a Chorus similar to that of the *Epitrepontes* take breakfast with him there, and come to his house in town for dinner in the evening. Their arrival is announced here by the *ostiarus*, according to Körte

<sup>48</sup> Körte (*Menandrea*, p. xvi; 207 ff.) does not assign this fragment to the *Epitrepontes*, but gives it as belonging to a "*fabula incerta*."

<sup>49</sup> Flickinger, *Cl. Phil.* VII (1912), p. 30.

(p. 103), by the slave Davus, according to Capps (p. 160), and shortly after appears the mark *Χορῷ*.<sup>50</sup>

The notice also appears once in the *Samia* (where Körte sees a similar Chorus of wedding-guests), and twice in the *Ghorân* fragments. But these instances cannot be said to throw any light on the use of the term. We may conclude that for comedy the evidence of fragments points to the probability that the Chorus still existed indeed, but was connected in a very superficial manner with the progress of the plot; its primary function was to amuse the audience in the intervals between the acts. The same influence which caused the diminution of Chorus in comedy was effective also in tragedy. Practice for Choral rôle exacted much time on the part of amateurs, and the hiring of a number of professionals involved cost, to say nothing of the necessity of appropriate costumes; while managers were glad to dispense with the necessity of conveying a skilled Chorus from place to place in provincial tours. The Greeks, also, outside Athens were not specially interested in either tragic or comic Chorus, and the religious associations of the tragic Chorus were gradually lost. The impoverished state in which Athens found herself after the great wars no longer admitted of the burden of costly Choral equipment; shortly before 300 B. C. the State took over the duties of *choregus* from the tribes and citizens of Athens, and appointed an *agonothetes* to superintend the lyrical contests of the different choirs.<sup>51</sup> In the lack of satisfactory evidence to the contrary, it seems justifiable to follow the more natural interpretation of Aristotle's passage, and to infer that in both tragedy and comedy of the fourth century and the succeeding period of Hellenistic Drama little training and outlay were bestowed

<sup>50</sup> Körte believes that the "army" with which Polemon and Sosias are to besiege the house of Myrrhina in the attempt to capture Glycera is identical with the same Chorus of Polemon's friends. Robert (*Hermes* XLIV (1909), pp. 267, 278) and Capps (ed. Menander, *Four Plays*, pp. 137, 175) take a different view.

<sup>51</sup> Bethe, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum*, 1896, p. 255; Christ-Schmid, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* I<sup>o</sup>, 1912, p. 392 f.; II, I<sup>o</sup>, 1911, p. 130; Leo, *Gesch. d. Rom. Lit.* I, p. 71.

upon the Chorus, that it played a very minor part in the action, and confined its song to lyrical odes given in the intervals of the play.<sup>52</sup> The increasing tendency to multiply lyrical metres in Choral lyric during the last years of the fifth and the early years of the fourth century, points to this same use of the Chorus in song rather than in action.<sup>53</sup>

No more evidence can be adduced until we reach the tragedy of Seneca.<sup>54</sup> His work is modelled on Sophocles, Euripides, and post-Euripidean poets, but has no connection with the old Roman tragedy. This is indeed to be expected, for we know that the early dramatists of the Republic were no longer held in honour among the poets of the Empire. The Chorus regularly appears in the plays of Seneca, but it is only slightly related to the plot,<sup>55</sup> and its chief purpose is evidently to sing between the acts. In the greater number of cases it disappears after the last interval. We may suppose, then, that Seneca is disregarding the tradition of the Roman drama which preceded his work, and is reverting to Alexandrian methods.

We may note here that Seneca spent some time in Egypt, and no doubt interested himself in its literary works.<sup>56</sup> More-

<sup>52</sup> Cf. with the article of Capps that by Körte, *Das Fortleben des Chors im griech. Drama*, *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. kl. Alt.* V (1900), pp. 81 ff., and that in Pauly-Wissowa, 1899, s. v. *Chor* by Reisch, pp. 2401 ff. They give evidence for the existence of Chorus in comedy and tragedy in post-classical times, but do not show its intimate connection with the plot.

<sup>53</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hermes* XVIII (1883), pp. 248 f.

<sup>54</sup> See Leo, *Die Composition der Chorlieder Senecas*, *Rhein. Mus.* LII (1897), pp. 509 ff.

<sup>55</sup> For signs of this superficial connection see Lindskog, *Studien zum antiken Drama*, 1897, II, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>56</sup> In the *Ad Helviam Matrem de Consolatione* (19, 4) Seneca writes of his mother's sister: *Carissimum virum amiserat, avunculum nostrum, cui virgo nupserat, in ipsa quidem navigatione: tulit tamen eodem tempore et luctum et metum evictisque tempestatibus corpus eius naufraga evexit.* The journey was taken from Egypt, where she had been living (6: *per sedecim annos, quibus Aegyptum maritus eius obtinuit*); and as Seneca witnessed this example of fortitude (4: *sed si prudentiam perfectissimae feminae novi, non patietur te nihil profuturo moerore consumi et exemplum tibi suum, cuius ego etiam spectator fui, narrabit*), he must have been returning from Egypt with her. Cf. also the reference to Seneca's lost work on Egypt in Servius on Verg. *Aen.* VI, 154: *Seneca scripsit de situ et sacris Aegyptiorum.*

over, the Choral lyrics of Seneca show a close connection with Hellenistic literature. For their metrical composition is not based on the old strophic and anti-strophic method, but is that of the monodies of Euripides, of the *Maiden's Lament*, and of the *cantica* of Plautus; the metres are those of Horace, but the lines are divided into periods corresponding to their contents.

From the evidence, therefore, for the tragic Chorus, we may trace a gradual diminution of its importance in action and in song within the limits of the play. This diminution began with Euripides and was continued during the fourth century and during Hellenistic times, was seen in the work of Livius and Naevius,<sup>57</sup> the first writers of Roman tragedy, and, once more, in the tragedies of Seneca. The rôle proper of the Chorus in this line of tradition was to sing between the acts. There was one reaction in the series, and this was developed by Ennius; his example in this respect was followed by Pacuvius, and ended in Accius with the culmination and the end of the real tragic art of Rome.

There is nothing contradictory to this theory in our knowledge of the formation of the stage in Greek and Roman times. Authorities at this day generally agree with Dörpfeld that actors and Chorus played on the same level, with free opportunity for communication one with another, in the classic theatre of Greece; they agree, moreover, that the same conditions obtained in the Roman theatre. Vitruvius tells us that plays at Rome were acted upon a low stage raised not more than five feet from the ground in order that the foremost ranks of the audience (the Senators, who occupied the orchestra from 194 B. C.) might gain a clear view of the action, and that it was sufficiently wide to allow all concerned to play their parts thereon.<sup>58</sup> The question which has not yet been settled is that of the formation of the stage in the later Greek

<sup>57</sup> It is not unlikely that the Chorus of Maenads in the *Lycurgus* was introduced in order to sing lyric verse in the intervals of the play.

<sup>58</sup> Vitruvius V, 6: et eius pulpiti altitudo sit ne plus pedum quinque.

theatre. The theory of Dörpfeld,<sup>60</sup> which places actors and Chorus on the same level, that of the orchestra, from the fifth century continuously until the period of the Roman theatre, is supported by the evidence to be gleaned from the fragments of Menander and from the plays of Seneca based on Hellenistic tradition.<sup>61</sup> For in these, actors and Chorus certainly enter into communication, even if very slight; and communication between actors, who are on the top of the *Proskenion*, and *Choreutae*, who are on the ground level of the orchestra, although possible for an uncritical audience, would scarcely tend to enhance artistic realism in the setting.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, Christ, E. Gardner, and Bethe<sup>63</sup> follow the evidence of Vitruvius in believing that the roof of the *Proskenion* formed a stage of some twelve feet high for the actors in the later Greek period, and that the orchestra was reserved for other performers (*reliqui artifices*).<sup>63</sup> This theory, if proved correct, would inevitably entail the diminution of the Choral rôle

<sup>60</sup> *Das griechische Theater*, Dörpfeld-Reisch, 1896. Cf. Dörpfeld, *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* XX (1896), pp. 563 ff. (in answer to Chamonard, *Bull. de Corr. hell.* XX (1896), pp. 291 ff.); *Mittheilungen d. K. d. Arch. Inst. Athenische Abt.* XXIV (1899), pp. 310 ff. (in answer to A. Müller in *Philologus*; see note 62); XXVIII (1903), pp. 383 ff. (in answer to Puchstein, *Die griech. Bühne*); Capps, *A. J. A.* X (1895), p. 288; Körte, *Neue Jahrbücher* V (1900), p. 89.

<sup>61</sup> See, for Menander, Körte, *Hermes* XLIII (1908), p. 301; and for Seneca, Leo, *Rhein. Mus.* LII (1897), p. 518.

<sup>62</sup> See especially Menander, *Epitrepontes*, ll. 213-214 K.; and the Jernstedt fragment (*Epitr.*, Act III, l. 32 C.), in which, according to Capps, Onesimus and Chaerestratus retire to the house of Charisius in order to avoid meeting the *kōmos* of young men.

<sup>63</sup> Christ, *Das Theater des Polyklet in Epidauros*, *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. der Wiss. zu München* (1894), p. 1 ff.; Christ-Schmid, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* I<sup>6</sup>, 1912, p. 441; II, I<sup>6</sup>, 1911, pp. 130 f.; Gardner and Loring, Excavations at Megalopolis, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Supplement I (1892), ch. IV, esp. p. 88, and Appendix; Gardner in *Companion to Greek Studies*, 1905, pp. 337 f.; Bethe, *Prolegomena zur Gesch. d. Theaters im Alt.*, 1896, ch. XII; *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* CLIX (1897), pp. 706 ff.; *Hermes* XXXIII (1898), p. 313; *Jahrbuch des K. d. Arch. Instituts* XV (1900), p. 69. Cf. A. Müller, *Philologus*, Supplementband VII (1899), pp. 108 ff.; and, for criticism of both Dörpfeld and Bethe, Robert, *Gött. gel. Anz.* CLIX (1897), pp. 39 f.; *Hermes* XXXII (1897), pp. 448 f.

<sup>63</sup> Vitruvius V, 7: eius logei altitudo non minus debet esse pedum decem, non plus duodecim.

in Hellenistic times; and the return to the broader stage of the Roman theatre would at least invite greater participation in the plot on the part of the Chorus. The motive of this return may be seen in renewed study of classic Greek drama.

Finally, the view that Ennius developed the restoration of the earlier, in place of the later, Greek tradition, agrees with our knowledge of the early history of Roman literature. The first models on which this literature was framed came to Rome from South Italy and Sicily through the agency of the Tarentine, and of the First Punic War; and, as was natural, the Romans learnt Greek drama of the Hellenistic type prevalent in Magna Graecia. Livius Andronicus was himself a Greek of Tarentum, and Naevius fought against the Carthaginians in Sicily; it was enough for these pioneers to transfer to Rome the representations which they found nearest to their hand.<sup>61</sup> The same tendency to follow Hellenistic tradition is seen in the history of Roman comedy as represented by Naevius and Plautus. In the time of Ennius a Roman tragic drama was not an entire novelty, and he was able to seek improvement upon the work of his predecessors. We know from his other work how deeply versed he was in the writings of ancient Greece; in epic, Homer had attracted him, in philosophy, Epicharmus. The literary circle, also, in which he lived at Rome, and especially his patron Scipio Africanus, were pushing their studies with energy among Greek writers of classic days. It is not surprising, then, that his original mind should have turned away from the familiar Alexandrian school to follow more closely the old tragic poets in his plays. This reversion with regard to Chorus superseded the tendency of former writers to cling to more obvious models, and was more fully developed by the followers of Ennius in the school of dramatic art.

<sup>61</sup> Schanz, *Röm. Literaturgeschichte* I, 1<sup>3</sup>, 1907, pp. 54 ff. Atilius, author of the tragedy *Electra*, was probably a contemporary of Ennius; but we can learn nothing of his treatment of the Chorus. See Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, pp. 608 ff.; Schanz, p. 218.

The evidence, therefore, of the extant fragments of early Roman tragedy, of our knowledge of the Chorus from the time of Euripides until the time of Seneca, of the stage in both the Greek and the Roman theatre, and of literary movements during the earlier years of Rome, leads to the conclusion that the tragic Chorus in and after the time of Ennius was no longer denied vigorous action and lyric song within the limits of the play, as in the later Greek theatre, and was given a far greater share than in the earliest Roman theatre; it served in both respects the same purpose as the Chorus of the tragedy in the fifth century of Greece. But it is probable that the Romans, who lacked generally the keen feeling of the Greeks for artistic skill, never attempted to transfer to their own language the intricate metrical compositions which formed the Greek Choral lyric, but contented themselves with assigning to the Chorus of their plays the non-strophic measures of Hellenistic poetry illustrated for us in the *cantica* of Plautus and the artificial revival of tragedy in imperial Rome.

## *VITA.*

I was born at Highbridge, in the county of Somerset, England, on the 7th of November, 1880, and received my earlier education privately. My father is Arthur Duckett, my mother Fanny Louise Shipley Duckett. In 1902 I graduated from the University of London, in 1904 proceeded to the Master's degree, in 1905 to the Diploma in Education, of the same University; from 1905 until 1907 I taught in the Girls' High School, Sutton, Surrey, England. From 1908 until 1911 I studied Greek and Latin at Girton College, Cambridge, England, and in 1911 passed the examinations of the Cambridge Classical Tripos, Part I. In the same year I entered Bryn Mawr College as British Graduate Scholar; from 1912 until 1913 I held the resident Latin Fellowship, and the following year a special British Graduate Scholarship.

My work at Bryn Mawr in Latin, my major subject, has been done under Professor Wheeler and Professor Frank; in Greek, my minor subject, under Professor Sanders and Professor Wright. To Professors Wheeler, Sanders, and Wright, and to Dr. Ferguson, of the Department of Latin, Bryn Mawr College, I am indebted for many criticisms of my dissertation.

This study has been written under the direction of Professor Tenney Frank, who suggested to me the subject of the work. To him and to Professor Wheeler I gladly acknowledge the interest they have shown, and the help they have given to me during the whole of my graduate course.





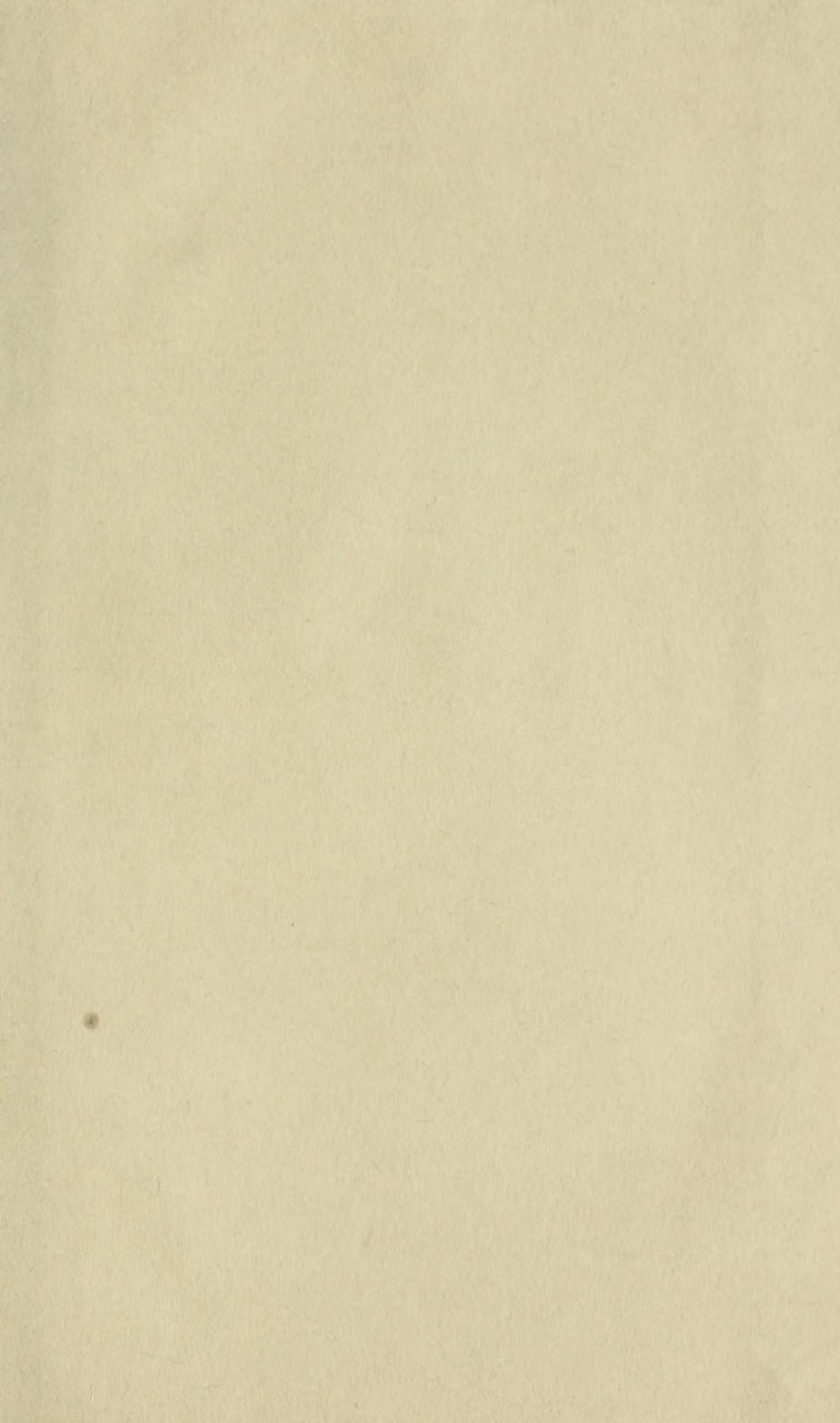




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